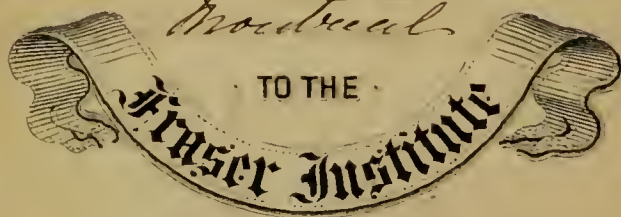


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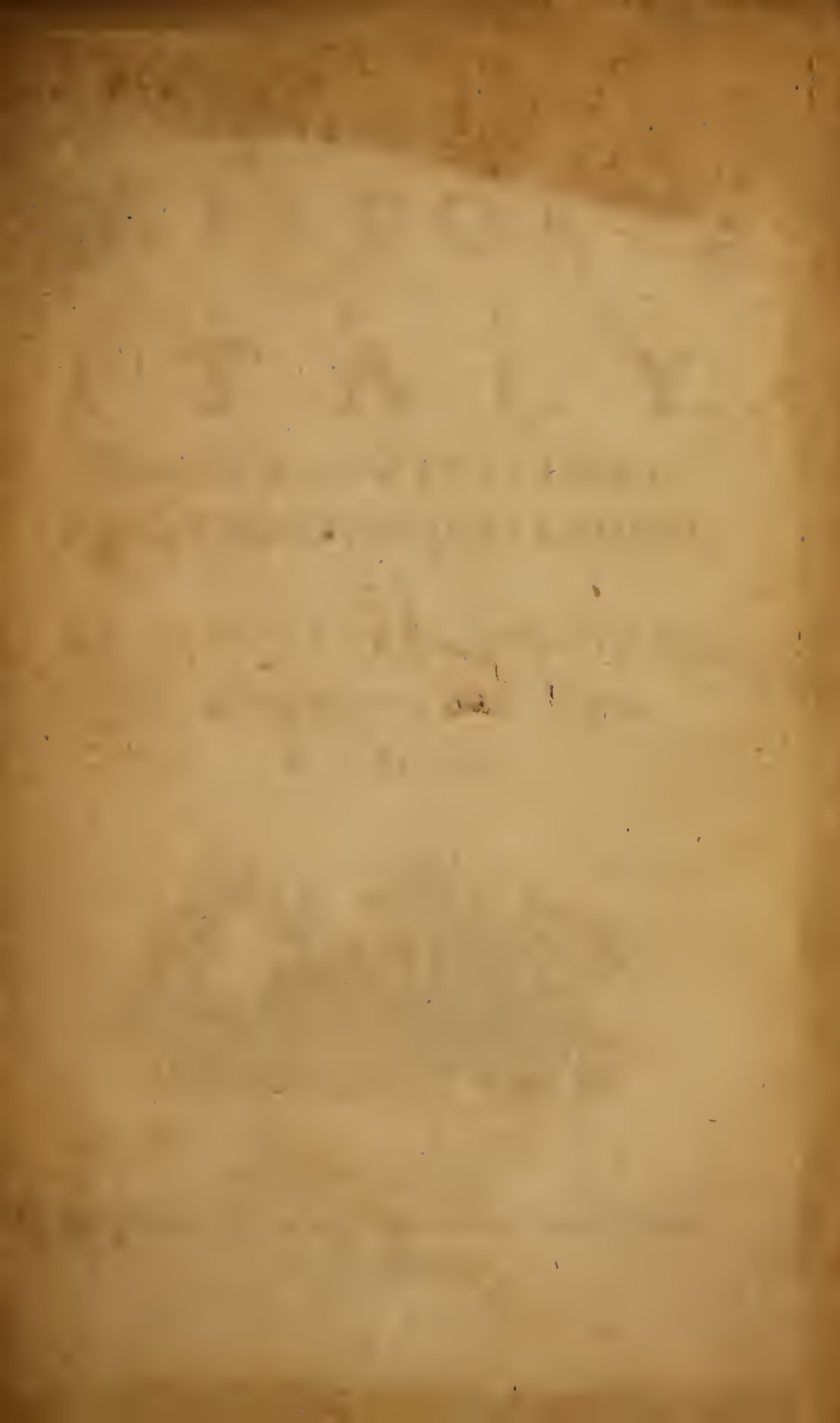


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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
I T A L Y,

Translated from the ITALIAN of
FRANCESCO GUICCIARDINI,

B Y
AUSTIN PARKE GODDARD, Esq;

The THIRD EDITION.

V O L. V.



L O N D O N,

Printed for Z. STUART, at the *Lamb*, in *Pater-noster-Row*.

MDCCLXIII.

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STATISTICS

OF THE
TRANSVAAL PROVINCE

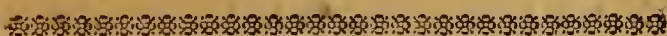
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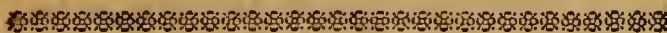
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1891



Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K IX.



T H E C O N T E N T S.

The Pope becomes a Friend to the Venetians. Causes of the Rupture between the King of France and the Swifs. Cæsar and the King of France confirm their League against the Venetians. The Pope makes War upon Ferrara. Bad Success of the Venetians. The Pope's Design against Genoa. A General Council summoned to meet at Pifa. Rebellion of Bologna.

* * * * * H A T Constancy and Resolution A. D.
* * * * * T of Mind, which the Pope had 1510.
* * * * * shown in the Absolution of the
Venetians, greatly disturbed Cæsar, as it
A 2 prin-

A. D.
1510

principally concerned his Affairs, and gave no less Uneasiness to the King of *France*, who, out of Regard to his own Interest, was unwilling to see the Senate restored to its former Greatness. He could not however intirely discover the Depth of the Pope's Intentions, but fortifying himself with vain Hopes against the Difficulties that were preparing to surround him, he persuaded himself that the Pontiff had taken this Step from a Jealousy he had conceived of his Union with *Cæsar*; and that by temporising with him, and giving him no Cause for greater Apprehensions, he would content himself with the Absolution, and proceed no further. But *Julius*, confirming himself more and more every Day in his Resolutions, granted Liberty, in contradiction to the repeated Remonstrances of the Ambassadors of the Allies, to the Feudatories and Subjects of the Church to list in the Service of the *Venetians*. By virtue of this Licence the Republic enlisted *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, under the Title of Governor of their Army, which, since the Death of Count *Pitigliano*, had remained without a Captain

Pope favours the
Venetians.

THE WARS IN ITALY. §

tain General, and *Giovàn Luigi*, and *A. D.*
Giovanni Vitelli, Sons of the late *Giovanni* 1516.
 and *Camillo*, and *Renzo da Ceri*, whom
 they appointed General of all their Foot.

THE Pontiff having thus openly taken Mediates
 the *Venetians* into his Patronage, procured a Peace
 a Treaty of Peace between them and the *Vene-*
Cæsar, in hopes, by that Means, not only tians and
 to separate him from *Lewis*, but to in- Cæsar.
 duce him, in conjunction with himself
 and the *Venetians*, to make War upon
 him. And that he might the more easily
 accomplish his Purpose by means of *Cæsar's*
 Necessities, he interposed his Authority
 with the Electors of the Empire, and
 with the Free Towns, that in the Diet
 of *Ausburg* they should come to no Re-
 solution about granting him a Supply.
 But the longer he treated, the greater
 Difficulties he met with in compassing his
 Design: For *Cæsar* would harken to no
 Agreement without retaining *Verona*; and
 the *Venetians*, in whom the Pope thought
 to have found more Compliance, pro-
 mising themselves that whatever happened
 they should be able to defend *Padoia*, and

A. D. 1510. that while they kept possession of that City, Time would furnish them with many favourable Opportunities, obstinately demanded the Restitution of *Verona*, offering to pay in Recompense a very large Sum of Money. The Pope was ever stimulating the King of *England* to enter into a War with the King of *France*, putting him in Mind of the antient Enmity between the two Kingdoms, and demonstrating the fair Opportunity of a most prosperous Success: For if he took up Arms against that King, many others, who were either jealous of, or hated his Power, would follow his Example. He therefore exhorted him to embrace, with that Devotion which was peculiar to the Kings of *England*, the Opportunity now offered of acquiring the Glory of being the Protector and Preserver of the Apostolic See, which was otherwise in most manifest Danger from the Ambition of the King of *France*. The King of *Aragon*, tho' with great Secresy, added his Sollicitations to the same Purpose. But, what was of more Importance, the Pontiff had at last concluded a Treaty with
the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 7

the *Swiss* by means of the Bishop of *Sion*, ^{A D.}
 who was of great Authority in that Na- ^{1510.}
 tion, and, by haranguing in their Coun-
 cils, and preaching in their Churches,
 with mighty Efficacy, had never ceased
 intreating and pressing the Accomplish-
 ment of so pious a Work. By this
 Treaty the *Swiss*, on Condition of the
 yearly Payment of One Thousand *Rhenish*
 Florins to each Canton, took upon them-
 selves the Protection of the Pope and the
 Ecclesiastical State, permitting him to
 levy a certain Number of their Troops for
 his Defence.

Makes a
 Treaty
 with the
Swiss.

THIS Treaty was facilitated by the
 Quarrel which began to arise between
 the *Swiss* and the King of *France*. For
 the *Swiss*, grown proud of the Value
 which was universally set upon their Ser-
 vice, and having the Presumption to ima-
 gine that all the Victories which this pre-
 sent King, or his Predecessor had obtained
 in *Italy* were principally owing to their
 Valour, and to the Terror of their Arms,
 thought themselves to have highly merited
 of the Crown of *France*. Therefore

King of
France
 differs
 with the
Swiss.

8 THE HISTORY OF

A. D. when they were solicited by the King to
 1510. renew the Confederacy, which was expired, they demanded an Increase of their Pensions. Sixty Thousand Franks a Year were first settled on them by *Lewis XI.* and continued to be paid till this Time, not including the Pensions which were bestowed in secret on many of their leading Men. They made this Demand in so haughty a Manner that the King, provoked at their Insolence, and, to use his own Words, at being thus imperiously mulcted by a Parcel of low Fellows, born and bred in the Mountains, in Terms more becoming the royal Dignity than conducive to his present Interest, gave them to understand how much he despised them. He was the more animated in this Proceeding because, at the same time, by means of *Giorgio Soprasasso*, the *Vallese*, Subjects of *Sion*, divided into seven Communities, called by them *Corti*, being corrupted by Presents, and Promises of Pensions, both in public and private, had entered into a Confederacy with him; by which they were obliged to grant a Passage to his Troops, but to deny the same to his

Makes a
 League
 with the
Vallesians
Grisons.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

9

A. D.
1510.

his Enemies ; and to enter into his Service with such a Number of Troops as was proportionable to their Force. He had contracted an Alliance also with the Lords of the Three Leagues called *Grisons* ; and tho' a Part of the *Vallese* had not yet ratified the Confederacy, the King hoped to induce them to it by continuing to make use of the same Means. Hence he persuaded himself that the Friendship of the *Swiss* was no longer of such Necessity to him, since he had also resolved, besides the Troops he was to have from the *Vallese* and *Grisons*, to hire a Body of *German* Infantry ; and he was not under much Apprehension of any Movement from *Swisserland*, because he did not believe that the Dutchy of *Milan* could be invaded but by the Way of *Bellinzzone*, and other very narrow Passes, in which a small Number might easily reduce a great Multitude to Straits for Want of Provisions ; and if the Enemy came but in a small Number, a like Number was sufficient to make them retire.

THE

A. D.

1519.

THE King of *France* continuing thus obstinately resolved not to augment the Pensions of the *Swiss*, he could not obtain, in the general Assembly of that Nation, a Renewal of their Confederacy with him, tho' it was strenuously insisted on by many of their Number, who were sensible how much it tended to their private Advantage. The same Reason disposed the *Swiss* the more readily to enter into the Confederacy demanded by the Pope, who flattered himself that by this Step he had laid a great Foundation for his Projects. Besides this, as he ever acted in an arbitrary Manner, and as if all were bound to follow his Dictates, he gave Occasion for a new Quarrel with the Duke of *Ferrara*, it being uncertain whether he was really incited by the Subject that came in Dispute between them, or highly resented that the Duke, unmindful of so many Favours and Honours, which he had received from him, had chosen rather to depend on the King of *France* than on himself. Whatever was the Cause that gave Beginning to the Controversy,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

II

verſy, the Pope imperiouſly commanded *Alfonſo* to deſiſt from making of Salt at *Comacchio*; for ſince he had not been allowed to work on the Salt Pits when the *Venetians* were in Poſſeſſion of *Cervia*, it was not reaſonable he ſhould enjoy that Privilege now that Town was reduced under Obedience of the Pontiff, who was Lord Paramount both of *Ferrara* and *Comacchio*. This was an intereſting Affair on account of the Profits, for when no Salt was made at *Comacchio*, many of the circumjacent Towns were ſupplied with that uſeful Commodity from the Salt-works of *Cervia*. But *Alfonſo*, who conſided more in the Friendſhip and Protection of the King of *France*, than he ſtood in Awe of the Pope's Power, remonſtrating that it was very hard that he ſhould be debarred from gathering the Fruits of his own Land, which coſt him but very little Trouble, and that he ſhould be forced to purchaſe of others, for the Uſe of his own People, a Commodity with which he was able to ſupply foreign Conuntries, and that an Impoſition to which the *Venetians*, not with Juſtice but by

A. D.

1510.

Pope differs with the Duke of Urbino.

A. D. 1510. by Arms, had induced him to give his Consent, ought not to pass into an Example, refused to obey the Commands of his Holiness, who then sent him a positive Injunction to desist under grievous Pains and Censures,

SUCH were the Schémes and Practices of the Pontiff, who was intent, with all his Mind, on raising the *Venetians*. On the other Side the King of the *Romans* and the King of *France* were as much bent on their Depression; and being much dissatisfied at those Marks of Favour which the Pope had shown them, entered into the stricter Union, and agreed this Summer to attack the *Venetians* with mighty Forces. On one Side the King of *France* was to order *Chaumont* to march with a potent Army, which was to be joined by the *German* Foot that were in *Verona*. On another Quarter *Cæsar* was to act with those Troops which he was in hopes to obtain from the Empire in the Diet of *Ausburg*, and enter *Friuli*, and after he had conquered that Province to go upon some other Enterprize as Time and

THE WARS IN ITALY. 113

and Opportunity offered. They required the Pope to concur with them, as being obliged by the League of *Cambray* to join his Forces with theirs. But His Holiness, who was utterly averse to such a Step, answered in plain Terms, that he was not bound to continue in a Confederacy, which had already attained its End; since it had been in *Cæsar's* Power first to take Possession of *Trevigi*, and since that to accept of a Recompense in Money. *Maximilian* used also his Sollicitations with the Catholic King for Supplies, pleading the same Obligations of *Cambray*, and the particular Agreement made with himself when he consented to his assuming the Government of *Castile*; and at the same time prayed him to furnish his Quota rather in Money than Troops. But that King not being disposed to supply him with what he most wanted, promised to send him Four Hundred Lances, a Succour of little Use to *Cæsar*, because both his own and the *French* Army abounded in Cavalry.

ABOUT this Time the City of *Verona*
being

M. D. being much plagued with the Soldiers
 1510. that were in Garrison, for want of their
 Pay, the *Venetian* Troops, privately sent
 for by some Officers, set out from *San*
Bonifacio, and approached the City by
 Night, with an Intent to scale *Castel San*
Piero. They entered by the Gate of
San Giorgio, where while they spent too
 much Time in joining the Ladders,
 which were not long enough to reach
 the Height of the Walls, either being
 perceived by some of the Garrison of
San Felice, or fancying they heard a
 Noise, they were struck with a sudden
 Consternation, and fled out of the Place,
 leaving their Ladders behind them. The
 Army then returned to *San Bonifacio*, and
 the Plot being discovered, many of the
 Conspirators were punished.

Attempt
 of the
Venetians
 on *Verona*
 miscarries.

THE Pope at this Time was inclined
 to a Reconciliation with the King of
France, to which he was induced not
 out of Good-will but thro' Fear, for
Maximilian had presumptuously demand-
 ed that he would lend him Two Hundred
 Thousand Ducats, threatening otherwise
 to

THE WARS IN ITALY.

15

A. D.

1510.

to join with the King of *France* against him; and also because it was reported that the Diet at *Ausburg* had resolved to grant *Cæsar* considerable Supplies, and that the Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England* was now renewed and published with great Solemnity. His Holiness therefore began to hold secret Conferences with *Alberto da Carpi*, whom he had hitherto treated only with fair Speeches, and given him general Hopes. But he did not long persevere in that Mind, for the Diet of *Ausburg*, without whose Forces the Menaces of *Cæsar* were of no Estimation, did not any way answer Expectation, but resolved only on granting an Aid of Three Hundred Thousand *Rhenish* Florins, a good Part of which had been already spent upon the Credit of what was expected to be raised; and the King of *England* had signified to him by Letter, that an Article in the Peace was inserted, by which the Treaty was to be considered as null, if at any time the King of *France* should molest the State of the Church.

ON

A. D.

1510.

New Dis-
putes be-
tween the
Pope and
the Duke
of *Ferra-*
ra.

ON these Advices the Pontiff resumed his Courage, and returned to his first Projects; he pretended to have a new Subject of Complaint against the Duke of *Ferrara*, for his having, after the Navigation of the Gulf had been declared free, laid new Duties on Goods carried to *Venice* by way of the River *Po*. The Pontiff alledged that, according to the Disposition of the Laws, it was not in the Power of a Vassal to lay any Duties without Leave first obtained from the Lord of the Fee, and that these Duties were very prejudicial to the *Bolognese* his Subjects, and made Instances to have them taken off, threatening otherwise to do himself Justice by Force of Arms; and, to strike the greater Fear into the Duke, he ordered some of his Men at Arms to march into the Territory of *Bologna*, and into *Romagna*.

THE King of *France* found himself much embarrassed at these Proceedings; for on one hand he was very loth to incur the Enmity of the Pope, and on the other he was moved, by a Sense of Honour,

not

not to abandon the Duke of *Ferrara*, A. D.
1510.
whom he had obliged himself to protect, in consideration of Thirty Thousand Ducats which he had received. He was no less affected with a Regard to his own Interest; for *Alfonso* wholly depended on him, and the more he saw himself persecuted by the Pope, the more firmly was he attached to his Devotion; and his State lying very commodious with regard to the Affairs of *Lombardy*, the King thought himself obliged, in point of Interest as well as of Honour, to preserve him. For this End he interposed his Mediation with the Pope, in order to find some Means for an Agreement. But the Pontiff thought it just that the Duke should be excluded from the royal Protection, allëdging that it was granted him contrary to the Articles of *Cambray*, in one of which, made on purpose for reinstating the Church in what had been wrested from it, it was stipulated, that no one of the Confederates should take under his Protection those that were nominated by another, and that he himself had nominated the Duke of *Ferrara*; and moreover that it was forbidden

King of
France
interposes
his Mediation.

A. D. 1510. by the Treaty for any one of the Confederates to intermeddle in Affairs belonging to the Church: That the same was also confirmed by the particular Confederacy between the King and himself at *Biagrassa*, in which it was expressly mentioned that the King should withdraw his Protection from all States dependent on the Church, and should not give it to any such for the future. To these Allegations tho' it had been answered, on the Part of the King, that by the same Convention his Majesty was to have the Collation of the Bishoprics on this Side the Mountains at his own Disposal, yet the Pope violated that Article on the first Vacancy, and that he had infringed also the Articles of *Cambray* in favour of the *Venetians*, for which Reasons it was lawful for the King not to observe the Promises he had made him; yet his Majesty, to avoid coming to a Rupture with the Pope, for maintaining the Interests of the Duke of *Ferrara*, proposed Conditions by which, without entirely or directly contravening his own Honour, the Pontiff might rest satisfied as to the greater Part of
of

THE WARS IN ITALY. 19

of the Claims which he and the Church ^{A. D.} pretended to have upon Duke *Alfonso*; ^{1510.} and was further willing to oblige himself, that, according to the Pope's Request, the *French* Troops should not pass the River *Po*, except for the Protection of the *Florentines*, to which they were bound; or to call to an Account *Pandolfo Petrucci* and *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, on Pretence of Money promised by the one, and intercepted by the other.

WHILE these Things passed, *Chau-*Progress
mont, at the Head of Fifteen Hundred of the
Lances, and Ten Thousand Foot of dif-Confede-
ferent Nations, among whom were some rate Army
Swiss, privately listed, and not by Leave against the
from the Cantons, followed by a nume-*Venetians*,
rous Train of Artillery, with Three Thou-
sand Pioneers, and Pontons for passing
Rivers, and joined by the Duke of *Fer-*
rara with Two Hundred Men at Arms,
Five Hundred light Horse, and Two
Thousand Foot, had taken Possession of
the Polesine of *Rovigo* without Opposition,
which had been abandoned by the *Vene-*
tians. He next made himself Master
B 2 of

A. D. 1510. of the Tower of *Marchesana*, situated on the Bank of the *Adice* towards *Padoua*. Thence he proceeded to *Castel Baldo*, and got surrendered to him, at the first Summons, the Towns of *Montagnana* and *Esti*, one of which belonged to *Alfonso d' Este* by Donation from *Maximilian*, and the other was mortgaged to him by that Prince as Security for Money lent. But as soon as *Alfonso* had recovered those Places, he sent back the greatest Part of his own Troops, on a Pretence that some Galleys of the *Venetians* were coming up the *Po*. *Chaumont* was joined in the *Polesine* by the Prince of *Anbalt*, Lieutenant General to *Cæsar*, from *Verona*, with Three Hundred *French* Lances, Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thousand *German* Foot, who followed, keeping always a Day's March behind. The Army then leaving behind them *Monfelize*, which was possessed by the *Venetians*, came into the Territory of *Vicenza*, when *Lunigo* and the whole Country submitted without Opposition. For the *Venetian* Army, which was said to consist of Six Hundred Men at Arms, Four Thou-

Thousand light Horse and Stradiotti, and *A. D.*
 Eight Thousand Foot, under *Gian Pagolo* ^{1510.}
Baglione Governor, and *Andrea Gritti*
 Proveditor, marched from *Soave*, and as
 the Enemy advanced continually retired
 before them into Places of Security, till
 at last having put a sufficient Garrison into
Trevigi, and posted One Thousand Foot
 at *Mestre*, they retired to the *Brentella*, a
 Place three Miles from *Padua*, and
 strongly situated for a Camp, because the
 Country is full of sloping Banks, and this
 Place in particular surrounded with
 the Waters of three Rivers, the *Brenta*,
Brentella, and *Bacchiglione*. The *Vicen-*
tines, by the Retreat of the *Venetian* Army,
 finding themselves wholly abandoned, and
 being incapable of making any Defence,
 had no Hopes left but in the Mercy of
 the Conquerors; and trusting that they
 might the more easily obtain it by the
 Mediation of *Chaumont*, they sent to de-
 mand of him a safe Conduct for their
 Ambassadors, whom they had appointed
 to wait on him and the Prince of *Anhalt*,
 This being granted, the Ambassadors ap-
 peared before the two Generals at the

Vicenza
 submits to
 the Con-
 federates.

A. D. Bridge of *Barberano*, about ten Miles
 1510. from *Vicenza*, in a miserable Dress, and
 full of Fear and Astonishment, where, in
 the Presence of all the Officers and principal
 Men of the Armies, the Head of the
 Embassy spoke, as it is said, after this
 Manner:

Speech of
 a *Vicen-*
tine Am-
bassador
 to the
 Generals.

“ WERE it known to every one what
 the City of *Vicenza*, formerly the Envy
 of many of its neighbouring Cities for its
 Riches and Felicity, has suffered, since, by
 the Error and Folly of Men, and perhaps
 more by a certain fatal Disposition than by
 any other Cause, it returned under the
 Dominion of the *Venetians*, with the in-
 finite and intolerable Damages it has re-
 ceived, we could assure ourselves, most
 invincible Captains, that your Hearts
 would be rather touched with a tender
 Commiseration of our Miseries, than
 moved with Indignation and Hatred at
 the Remembrance of a Rebellion, if we
 may deservedly give the Name of Re-
 bellion to the Error of that Night, in
 which our People struck with Astonish-
 ment, when the *Venetian* Army forced
 the

THE WARS IN ITALY. 23

the Suburb of the *Posterla*, sent forth A. D.
 Ambassadors to make an Agreement 1510.
 with them, not with an Intention to rebel,
 or to shake off the gentle Yoke of *Cæsar*,
 but to prevent their City from Plunder
 and the worst of Evils. What princi-
 pally prevailed upon our People, unac-
 customed to Arms and the Dangers of
 War, to take this Step, was the Authority
 of *Fracassa*, who, being an Officer of
 long Experience, and in *Cæsar's* Pay,
 whether out of Fraud or Fear is not our
 Business to enquire, advised us to provide
 for the Safety of our Wives and Children,
 and of our afflicted Country, by means
 of an Agreement. Hence it is evident
 that not any Malignity or Disaffection, but
 Fear, heightened by the Authority of
 such a Commaader, was the true Cause,
 not that determined, but rather that, in a
 short Space of Time, in so great a Tumult,
 amidst the Clash of Weapons, and the
 Thunder of the Cannon, Noises to which
 our Ears had never been accustomed, pre-
 cipitated our Surrender to the *Venetians*,
 whose Forces and Fortune were not of
 that Consideration as of themselves to in-

A. D.

1510.

vite us to it. And how great a Difference there is between Faults committed thro' Fear or Mistake, and Offences that proceed from Fraud, and an evil Intention, every one must be sensible. But even supposing that it was not our Fear but Inclination that prompted us to Rebellion, and that it was with the universal Consent and Concurrence of all the People, and not rather, in so great a Confusion, the Act and audacious Attempt of a Few not opposed by the rest, and that the Offences of this unhappy City are of all others the most inexcusable, yet such have been our Calamities since that Time, that we may truly say that our Repentance has without Comparison attoned for our Offence. For within our Walls we have been miserably plundered and devoured by the Soldiers appointed for our Guard, and who can be ignorant of what our Territory has suffered in a continual War? What have we left? All the Houses on our Estates are burnt, all our Trees cut down, and our Stock of Cattle destroyed; for two Seasons we have not been able to gather our Harvest, and the Sowing of
our

THE WARS IN ITALY. 25

our Seed has in a great measure been obstructed ; so that we are deprived of our Revenues, of our Profits, and of all Hopes that this ruined Country can ever recover itself. We are reduced to so great Straits, and in such Misery, that all our Stores, and what ever we had secreted, to sustain our Lives, and to supply all the infinite but necessary Expences, being exhausted, we are at a Loss to know how, for the future, to provide Bread for ourselves and our Families. Let the most cruel and inveterate of our Enemies, who has seen our Country in its former State, come and take a View of it in its present Condition, and we are satisfied that he will not abstain from shedding Tears ; when he considers that this City, which, tho' small in Compass, was ever full of People, had a pompous and grand Appearance, was beautified with superb and costly Edifices, the continual Resort of Foreigners, a City where nothing was minded but Feasting, Tilting, and Pleasures, is now, alas ! become in a manner destitute of Inhabitants, her Ladies and Gentlemen appearing in the meanest Dresses, not a House open, nor

A. D.

1510.

A. D.

1510.

a Housekeeper that can promise himself a Sufficiency to maintain himself and his Family for a single Month. Instead of magnificent Shows, Feastings, and Pleasures, you see and hear nothing but Miseries, public Lamentations of all Sorts of People, and the doleful Cries and Wailings of Women bemoaning themselves in all our Streets. And yet the Weight of our Afflictions would still sit heavier, and sink us into Despair, did we not remember, most glorious Prince of *Anhalt*, that on your Will depends either the utter Desolation of our forlorn and distressed Country, or our Hope, that, under the Shadow of *Cæsar*, thro' the wise and merciful Administration of your Highness, it may, we cannot say revive and recover itself, for that is impossible, but that, struggling through all Extremities to the End of our Lives, we may at least be redeemed from present Destruction; and this we have Reason to hope from your known Integrity and Humanity, it being probable that you study to imitate *Cæsar*, of whose Gentleness and Clemency all *Europe* abounds with Examples. Our Substance

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A. D.
1510.

stance is wasted, all our Expectations are at an End, we have nothing left but our Lives and our Persons, on which to exercise Vengeance and Cruelty, what Profit would it be to *Cæsar*, or what Praise to yourself? Permit us Supplicants to address your Highness with our most humble Prayers, which you are to suppose accompanied with the Lamentations of all Ages, Sexes, and Ranks in our City, that you would be pleased that poor unfortunate *Vicenza* might be an Example to all others of the Mildness of the *German* Government; that you would resemble in Clemency and Magnanimity the noble Spirit of your Ancestors, who after their Victories in *Italy* preserved the conquered Cities, chusing many of them for their own Residence. From them, to the great Honour of the *German* Blood, descended so many illustrious Families in *Italy*, and those of *Gonzaga*, *Carrara*, and *Scala*, our antient Lords. And at the same Time let *Vicenza* be an Example that the *Venetians*, whom we have assisted and supported even in their smallest Dangers, have shamefully abandoned us
in

A. D. ^{1510.} in our greatest Distress when they were bound to defend us; and that the *Germans*, who had some Cause to be offended with us, have gloriously condescended to our Preservation. Do you, O most invincible *Chaumont*, vouchsafe to take us under your Protection, and call to mind the Example of your royal Master, whose Clemency exercised towards the *Milanese* and *Genoese*, who had voluntarily rebelled without any Cause or Necessity, got the better of their Offences and of his Indignation; and those People, having obtained a full Pardon, have, in Gratitude for so great a Benefit, ever since continued his most devoted and faithful Subjects. If the Preservation of *Vicenza*, O Prince of *Anhalt*, be of no Service to *Cæsar*, it will at least be for his Glory, and our City will remain a Monument of his Mercy. Our Destruction can be of no Advantage to his Affairs, but all *Italy* will be moved at our Oppression. Clemency will universally endear the Name of *Cæsar*, and as in military Operations, and the Conduct of Armies, he resembles the antient *Cæsar*, so will he also in his Clemency,

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mency, by which that Hero was ex- A. D.
toll'd to the Skies, and acquired to him- 1510.
self a more glorious and lasting Name
than by his Atchievements in War. Be-
hold, Prince, the Fate of *Vicenza*, that
antient and famous City, that was lately
the Residence of so many Noblemen,
is in your Breast; from you she ex-
pects her Preservation or Destruction;
her Life or Death. May you take Com-
passion on so many innocent People, so
many unfortunate Women and helpless
Children, who had no Concern in the
Madness and Blunders of that calamitous
Night, and now with Wailings and La-
mentations expect your Resolution. Let
us but hear the welcome Voice of Mercy
and Clemency, and our drooping Country
shall revive, and forever call you its Father
and Preserver."

BUT neither this tender Speech, nor a
compassionate Regard to the unhappy
Citizens, could in the least soften the
Spirit of the Prince of *Anbalt*, who, with
the Insolence of a Barbarian, and the
Cruelty of a *German*, could not forbear
shewing

A. D. shewing the same Brutality in his Words
 1510. as in his Actions, and therefore returned
 a most inhuman Answer, which a Civilian, his Auditor, by his Commandment, pronounced in the following Words:

Answer of
 the Prince
 of Anhalt.

THINK not, ye Rebels of *Vicenza*, that your fine and flattering Speeches can efface the Memory of your Offences committed in high Contempt of the Authority of *Cæsar*, when, without any Regard to his Majesty, or his gracious Acceptance of your Submission, by Combination and Consent of your whole City, ye invited within your Walls the *Venetian* Army. Those Troops having, with the greatest Difficulty, made themselves Masters of the Suburb, and despairing after to force the Town, had resolved to march off; but you were so malignant and audacious, that, in spite of all the Opposition made by the Prince who was entrusted with the Power and Authority of *Cæsar*, you constrained him to retire into the Castle, and with Hearts full of Rage and Venom seized upon
Cæsar's

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31

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1510.

Cæsar's Artillery and Stores, and tore in Pieces the Standards which he had displayed in so many Battles, and carried before him in so many Triumphs. These Things were done, not by the *Venetian* Soldiers, but by the People of *Vicenza*, by which they discovered their immoderate Thirst after the Blood of the *Germans*. It was not for want of Perfidy in you, that the *Venetians* did not lay hold of the Opportunity, in the Career of their Success, to seize on *Verona*. It is in vain to plead in your Defence the Advice and Persuasions of *Fracassa*, who has been falsely calumniated by you, and made his Innocence fully appear. No, it was the sole Result of your own Malignity and Hatred, which, for no Reason, you have conceived against the Name of the *Germans*. Your Offences are inexcusable, they are even so great that they deserve no Forgiveness. It would not only be highly prejudicial but blameable to exercise Clemency towards you; for we know very well that you wait for nothing but an Opportunity to be guilty of worse Offences. Yours are not Errors, they are

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are Wickednesses, and the Losses you have received are not to be reckoned on the Score of Repentance for your Misdeeds, but because you had chosen contumaciously to persevere in your Rebellion; and now you are abandoned by the *Venetians*, and have no Means left to defend yourselves, you fly for Refuge to the Pity and Compassion of *Cæsar*; which you have lately abused. The Prince had resolved not to hear you; such was the Intention and Commission of *Cæsar*, but he could not deny you an Audience on *Chaumont's* Request. Take notice, however, that the Sentence which, from the Day of your Rebellion, has been ever fixed in the Mind of *Cæsar*, is unalterable, and stands thus: The Prince will not receive you but on Condition of surrendering your Estates, Lives, and Honours to his Discretion. Nor flatter yourselves that he requires all this, that he may have the more Room to exercise his Clemency; for it is with a Design that he may with the greater Liberty make you an Example of the Punishment due to all such Wretches

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Wretches, as have wickedly violated their
Faith to their Sovereign.”

A D.
1510.

A N Answer so atrocious astonished the *Vicentines*, who stood for some time like Statues, or People bereaved of their Senses. At last they began anew with Tears and Lamentations to implore the Mercy of the Conqueror. But being checked by the same Auditor, and reprimanded in Words more barbarous and inhuman than the first, they had been utterly at a Loss what to say or think, had not *Chaumont* encouraged and advised them to give Way to Necessity, and, by a free Submission to the Will and Pleasure of the Prince, endeavour to appease his Indignation. *Cæsar*, he told them, was of a very gentle Disposition, and it was not to be imagined that a Prince of such noble Blood, and an excellent General, would do any Thing unworthy of his Birth or Valour: That they ought not to terrify themselves with the Sharpness of the Answer, since it was rather to be wished that generous and noble Spirits would transport themselves to a furious Extravagance in Words, for

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it

A. D. 1510. it often happens that by discharging Part of their Indignation in this Manner, they become less rigid and severe in their Actions. He then offered to be their Intercessor, for mitigating the Anger of the Prince, after they had first made their free Submission as required. The *Vicentines* took his Advice, and compelled by Necessity prostrated themselves to the Earth, and made an absolute Surrender of themselves and of their City into the Power of the Conqueror. *Chaumont* then took upon himself to speak, and advised the Prince, in punishing the *Vicentines*, to regard rather the Greatness and Reputation of *Cæsar* than their Demerits; and to be cautious of shewing an Example to others who had fallen, or might hereafter fall into the like Errors, which might induce them, from a Despair of obtaining Forgiveness, to persevere in them with the utmost Obstinacy. Clemency, he said, had always procured Benevolence and Reputation to Princes, but that Cruelty, where it was not necessary, had constantly produced a contrary Effect, and did not remove,

as

Vicentines
submit at
Discretion

as some imprudently imagined, Difficulties ^{A. D.} and Impediments, but increased, and ^{1510.} rendered them more formidable. The Authority of *Chaumont* had such an Effect, that, in conjunction with the Entreaties of many others, added to the miserable Lamentation of the *Vicentines*, *Anhalt* at last condescended to promise that their Persons should be safe, but they were to leave all their Substance to his free and absolute Disposal. But the Prey came far short of Expectation, for the City was left almost destitute of Goods as well as of Inhabitants. But the barbarous *Germans* being on the Search, and informed that Numbers of the Citizens and Peasants, with their Effects, had taken Shelter in a certain Mountain near to *Vicenza*, within two Caverns called the *Grotta of Masano*, where, from the Strength of the Place, and the Difficulty of the Entrance, they thought themselves in Security, they went to plunder them; and having attacked the greater Cavern in vain, and not without some Loss, they removed to the lesser; but not being able to force an Entrance they made very large Fires, and got

A. D. possession of it by means of the Smoke,
1510. where, as it was reported, above One Thou-
 sand Persons perished *.

VICENZA being taken, the Generals found greater Difficulties in prosecuting their Enterprises than they had at first foreseen. For *Maximilian* had not taken the Field against the *Venetians*, as he had promised, and his Troops were continually diminishing for want of Pay, so that *Chaumont* was obliged to turn all his Thoughts on providing for the Defence of *Vicenza*; and yet being sensible that all he had hitherto done was of no Signification unless he made himself also Master of *Lignago*, he resolved to undertake the Siege of that Place. The River *Adice* passes through the Town of *Lignago*, the lesser Part of which lying towards *Montagnana* is called *Porto*, where the *Venetians*, not confiding so much in the Strength of the Town, or in the Bravery of the Defendants, as in obstructing the Approaches of Besiegers by means of the Water,

* These Caverns are divided into Vaults in manner of a Labyrinth, and were made by digging out the Stones for building. *Bembo.*

Water, had cut the River in one Place; and had made two other Cuts in the Bank on which the greater Part of the Town is situated, through which Breaches the River dispersing itself into several Branches, overflowed the lower Grounds, and covered the Country around in such a Manner, that, lying under Water for many Months together, it was become like a Morass. But the Rashness and Disorder of the *Venetian* Troops in some measure facilitated the Enterprize. For *Chaumont* coming with his Army to take up his Quarters at *Minerbio*, three Miles distant from *Lignago*, ordered forward some of his Horse and Foot, who, in passing the last Branch of the overflowing River, half a Mile from *Lignago*, were attacked by the Garrison of *Porto*, which had marched out to dispute the Passage. But the *Gascon* and *Spanish* Foot boldly entered the Waters, up to their Breast, and repulsing the Enemy, pursued them with such Fury that they entered together with them into *Porto*. Few of the *Venetians* escaped, for besides those that were killed in the Fight, most of the rest endeavour-

A. D. 1510. ing to retire into *Lignago* were drowned in passing the *Adice*. On this Success *Chaumont* changed his Design of quartering at *Minerbio*, and took up his Lodgings the same Night in *Porto*; and having halled along the heavy Cannon under the Water, the firm Bottom of the Soil sustaining their Weight, the same Night he ordered the Breach of the River to be stopped by the Pioneers. He was sensible that *Lignago* was impregnable if the Siege was made only from the Side of *Porto*, because of the Breadth of the River, which was so great that the Town could hardly be battered from that Quarter, notwithstanding the Stream is not so wide between the Slopes of the Banks from *Lignago* to *Porto*, as it is below. He ordered therefore a Bridge to be laid for passing his Artillery and the greater Part of his Army. But finding the Boats he had with him were not sufficient for constructing a Bridge over so wide a Stream, he encamped with his Army near the River, on the Side opposite to *Lignago*, and ordered General *Molard*, with Four Thousand *Gascons* and Six Pieces of Cannon, to pass

pass the *Adice* in the Boats. This done, he began, from both Sides of the River to batter the Fort erected on the Rising of the Bank, at the uppermost Point of the Town. Part of the Fort being ruined, tho' the Defendants did their utmost for repairing the Breaches, the next Night the *Venetian* Proveditor, in despair of defending the Place, retreated on a sudden, with some *Venetian* Noblemen, into the Castle. As soon as it was Day the Governor finding himself abandoned by the Proveditor, surrendered the Fort to *Molard*, on condition that the Garrison should be safe in their Persons and Effects; but as soon as they had marched out, they were disarmed and stripped by the Soldiers of the Camp. The Fort being taken the Town was plundered, and the Garrison of another Fort erected at the other Point of the Town abandoned it, and fled through the Marshes, leaving their Arms where they entered the Waters. The Castle made no better Defence than the Town; for the next Day the Cannon having ruined the Works, and the Miners being set to work under an Angle of a Tower

A. D. in order to blow it up, the Besieged capitulated on Articles, by which the *Venetian*

1510.

Lignago
taken.

Death of
the Car-
dinal of
Rouen.

Noblemen were to remain Prisoners to *Chaumont*, and the Soldiers to leave their Arms, and march off in their Waistcoats. Thus, by the Cowardice of the Defendants, was *Lignago* reduced, with more Ease and Speed than had been imagined. But Fortune took care to allay the Joy of *Chaumont* on these happy Successes by the disagreeable News of the Death of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, his Uncle, by whose prevailing Interest with the King of *France* he had been exalted to very great Riches and Honours, and was in continual Expectation of greater Favours. In *Lignago*, where the *Germans* were incapable of putting any Troops, *Chaumont* left a Garrison of One Hundred Lances and One Thousand Foot, and after he had dismissed the *Grisón* and *Vallesè* Infantry, was preparing to return with the Remainder of the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*, by the Orders of his King, who was unwilling to be any longer at such vast Expences, which produced no important Advantage, because the Provisions made

on

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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on the Part of *Cæsar* were no way answerable to the Resolutions that had been taken. The King however afterwards ordered *Chaumont* to keep the Field during the whole Month of *June*, because *Cæsar*, who was arrived at *Inspruck*, full, as usual, of Difficulties as well as of Hopes and Designs, made Instances with his Majesty not to withdraw his Forces, continually promising to pass directly into *Italy*.

A. D.
1510.

AT this time the *Germans* being desirous to recover *Marostico*, *Cittadella*, *Basciano*, and the circumjacent Towns, in order to facilitate the Passage of *Cæsar* on that Side, *Chaumont* encamped with his Army at *Lungara* on the River *Bacchiglione*, to prevent the *Venetians* from taking *Vicenza*, which had but a small Garrison, and making any Opposition to the *Germans*. But on Advice that the *Venetian* Army was retired into *Padoua*, he again joined the *German* Forces, and proceeded with them to *Torricelle* on the main Road that goes from *Vicenza* to *Padoua*; but leaving *Padoua* on the right Hand, they continued their March

Progress
of the
Armies
against the
Venetians.

to

A. D.

1510.

to *Cittadella*, labouring under no small Inconveniency for want of Provisions, which were intercepted by the Enemy's light Horse from *Padoua*, and much more by the Garrison of *Monfelicie*. *Cittadella* surrendered without Resistance, as did afterwards *Marostico*, *Basciano*, and the circumjacent Towns, which were abandoned by the *Venetians*. The Armies, having done their Business on that Side, returned to *Torricelle*; and leaving *Padoua* on the right Hand, they fetched a Compass to the left towards the Mountain, and encamped on the *Brenta*, by the Side towards the Mountain, ten Miles from *Vicenza*. They proceeded to this Post, because the *Germans* were desirous of possessing *Scala*, which was a very commodious Pass for those Troops that were expected from *Germany*, and the only Town that, from *Trevigi* to *Vicenza*, was in the Hands of the *Venetians*. From these Quarters the Prince of *Anbalt*, with the *Germans* and One Hundred *French* Lances, set out towards *Scala*, which was a March of twenty-five Miles; but was prevented in his Progress by the Peasants, who

who had seized on many Passes in the Mountains, and were so incredibly zealous in their Affections to the *Venetians*, that when any were made Prisoners they chose rather to die, than to abjure or blaspheme their Government. The Prince, after taking possession of *Castel Nuovo*, a Pass in the same Mountain, which surrendered upon Articles, returned to his Quarters at *Brenta*, after ordering a good Body of Foot to march towards *Scala* by another Way. These Troops leaving the Road of *Basciano*, in order to avoid *Covolo*, a strong Pass in those Mountains, fetched a Compass lower down by the Road of *Feltro*, and finding it almost destitute of Inhabitants, they plundered and burnt it, and thence proceeded to the Pass of *Scala*, which, as well as *Covolo*, they found quite abandoned.

IN the mean time the Country of *Friuli* suffered no less Damages, for being attacked sometimes by the *Venetians*, at other times by the *Germans*, and now defended, then pillaged by the Gentlemen of the Country, while some were getting

Ground,

Miserable State of Friuli.

A. D.

1510.

Ground, others on the Retreat, nothing was to be seen but Slaughters, Plunders, and Burnings over the Face of the whole Province. And it often happened that the same Place, which had been first pillaged by one Party, was afterwards pillaged and burnt by the other; so that, except a very few Places of Strength, there was not a Town or a Village which was secured from suffering some miserable Destruction. But as no remarkable Action happened all this while, it would be tedious to recapitulate all the little Turns and Varieties of Fortune between the Parties, since they were but of small Importance, nor any way conducive to a Decision of the War.

New Agreement
between
Cæsar and
the King
of France.

BUT now the Time appointed for the Departure of the *French* Troops approaching, *Cæsar* and the King of *France* came to a new Agreement, that the King's Army should continue in the Field a Month longer, but that the extraordinary Expences, that is, those which were necessary, besides the Payment of the Troops, which had hitherto been born by the King,

THE WARS IN ITALY.

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King, should for the future be discharged by *Cæſar*, as well as the Pay of the Foot for the Month aforeſaid. And becauſe that Prince wanted Money for theſe Purpoſes, a Calculation was made of thoſe Expences, and the ſame amounting to Fifty Thouſand Ducats, the King was to lend him that Sum, which if he did not repay within a Year next enſuing, together with another Fifty Thouſand Ducats which had been lent him before, the King was to keep poſſeſſion of *Verona*, and all its Territory, till he was reimbursed.

A. D.

1510.

CHAUMONT, on receiving the King's Orders to ſuſpend his Departure, formed a Deſign upon *Monſelice*; for which End as ſoon as the *Germans* were joined by Four Hundred *Spaniſh* Lances, commanded by the Duke of *Termini*, and ſent by the Catholic King to the Aſſiſtance of *Maximilian*, tho' artfully retarded hitherto by very ſlow Marches, the Armies decamped and paſſed the River *Brenta*, and after that the *Bacchiglione* at the Village of *Purla*, about Five Miles from *Padoua*, from whence they arrived before

Proceed-
ings of
the Con-
federate
Army.

A. D. before *Monfeline*, having in that time
 1510. suffered greatly for want of Provisions
 and Forage by the Excursions of the
 Horse from *Padoua* and *Monfeline*, in
 one of which was taken Prisoner *Soncino*
Benzoni of *Crema*, an Officer of the King
 of *France*, who with a few Horse was
 gone out to meet the Escorts; and because
 he had been the Author of the Revolt of
Crema, *Andrea Gritti*, who accounted
 him more as a Subject of the *Venetians*,
 than as a Soldier of the Enemy, ordered
 him to be immediately hanged.

Descrip-
 tion of
Monfeline.

IN the Town of *Monfeline*, which is
 seated in a Plain, rises a Rock in the
 nature of a Mountain, from which it
 is called *Monfeline*. This Rock has on
 its Top a Castle, and on the Rising of the
 Hill, which gradually lessens all the Way
 to the Summit, are three Precincts of
 Walls, the lowermost of which incloses
 as much Space as would require Two
 Thousand Men to defend it against a
 well appointed Army. The Town was
 immediately abandoned, and the *French*
 taking possession of it, planted their Can-
 non

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A. D.

1510.

non against the first Precinct of Walls; and, after a warm Battery on several Sides, the *Spanish* and *Gascon* Foot began to approach the Wall in a disorderly Manner, and attempted to leap into the Place in many Parts at once. The Garrison, which consisted of Seven Hundred Foot, imagining that this was a regular Assault, and not being numerous enough to resist an Attack in several Places at once, made but a weak Defence, and began to retire, pursuant, as it was thought, to a Resolution they had before taken among themselves. But they retreated in such Disorder, that the Enemy, who had already begun to enter the Place, and to skirmish with the Garrison, followed them so closely, and pressed upon them so vigorously, that they entered together with them into the other two Precincts of Walls, and from thence into the Castle of that Fortrefs, where they cut to Pieces the greater Part of the Garrison, the rest retiring into the Donjon, where they would have surrendered on condition of saving their Lives, but were not accepted by the *Germans*, who at last blew up the Donjon;

Monfelize
taken.

A. D.
1510.

Donjon; so that of Seven Hundred Men, among whom were five Captains, and the Commander in chief, *Martino* of *Borgo a San Sepulchro* in *Tuscany*, very few were saved, their Calamities meeting with the less Compassion on account of their Cowardice. Nor did the Cruelty of the *Germans* discharge itself with less Fury upon the Walls and Houses, for they did not only ruin the Fortifications because they could spare no Troops to garrison them, but set Fire to the Town. After this the confederate Army did nothing worthy of Notice, except that a Party of Four Hundred *French* Lances scoured the Country up to the very Gates of *Padoua*.

THE Duke of *Ferrara* now left the Camp, and with him went also *Chatillon*, by Order of *Chaumont*, with Two Hundred and Fifty Lances for the Guard of *Ferrara*, which was thought to be in no small Danger from the Neighbourhood of the Pope's Army. But the *Germans* were continually soliciting *Chaumont* to lay Siege to *Trevigi*, as it had been first concerted between them, representing to him that
all

all that they had done hitherto at so vast an Expenditure was of but little Importance

A. D.

1516.

without the Conquest of that City, for they had given over all Hopes of making themselves Masters of *Padoua*. But *Chaumont* answered that *Cæsar* had not passed into *Italy* against the *Venetians* with those Forces which he had promised, and that those Troops of his which had acted in conjunction with the *French* were reduced to a small Number; that *Trevigi* had a numerous Garrison, and was very strongly fortified; that no Provisions were to be had in the Country, and it was very difficult to convey them from far distant Places to the Camp, on account of the continual Molestations from the Enemy's light Horse and Stradiotti, who, by the Diligence of the Peasants, were informed of the least Motion they made, and were so numerous that they shewed themselves in every Place where they were capable of doing any Damage. The Arrival of fresh Orders to *Chaumont* from *France* put an End to these Disputes. They contained Directions for that General to leave with the *Germans* 400 Lances and 1500 *Spanish* Infantry, to

A. D. 1510. be paid by the King, besides those that were in Garrison at *Lignago*, and to return with the Army immediately into the Dutchy of *Milan*; for the Clouds seemed to be gathering, and a Multitude of Troubles and Dangers began already to disclose themselves, which were raised by the Instigation of the Pope. *Chaumont* therefore, leaving the Command of those Troops to *Monf. Persi*, followed the Orders of the King; and the *Germans*, not thinking themselves capable of effecting any thing of Importance, went into Quarters at *Lunigo*.

THE Pontiff had proposed to himself, and pertinaciously persisted in employing all his Thoughts, not only to reinstate the Church in the Possession of many States which, as he pretended, did belong to it, but also to drive the King of *France* out of all that he possessed in *Italy*. What animated him against the King was either an old and private Enmity which he had conceived against him, or because the Jealousy which he had entertained of him was, in a Course of so many Years, converted into a perfect Hatred; or else he

Pope meditates the Expulsion of the French from Italy.

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he was moved, as he said himself afterwards, by an ambitious Desire of the Glory of being the Deliverer of *Italy* from Barbarians. With this View he had absolved the *Venetians* from their Censures. For this End he had established a Correspondence, and entered into a strict Alliance, with the *Swiss*; but pretending all the while, that he took these Measures more for his own Security, than with an Intention to molest others. For the same Purposes, when he found himself unable to separate the Duke of *Ferrara* from the *French* Interest, he had resolved to use his utmost Efforts to get possession of his Dutchy, giving out that he had put his Troops in Motion only on account of the Differences concerning the Customs and the Salt-works. That he might not, however, totally disclose his Intentions before Matters were better prepared for Execution, he treated continually with *Alberto Pio* about coming to an Agreement with the King of *France*. That Prince persuading himself that his Holiness differed with him only on account of the Protection which he had granted to the Duke of *Ferrara*,

A. D.

1510.

A. D. 1510 and desirous by all means to avoid making him his Enemy, consented to enter into a new Convention with him, referring himself to the Articles of *Cambray*, in which it was exprelly mentioned that not one of the Confederates should intrude himself in- to Affairs belonging to the Church; and now taking Care to insert such Words and Clauses, that it might be lawful for the Pope to proceed against the Duke of *Ferrara* as far as regarded in particular the Customs and Salt-works, which were the only Points, as the King imagined, that his Holiness had in View; and therefore he interpreted the Obligation he lay under to protect the Duke, in such a Manner as to make it seem lawful for him to make such an Agreement*.

King of
France
seeks a
Reconcili-
ation with
the Pope.

But the nearer the King condescended to the Pope's Demands, the farther did the Pope stand off, and keep at a Distance: Nor was he in any respect the more pliable by

The Pope
averse to
an Agree-
ment.

* The Desire of the King of *France* to avoid the Enmity of the Pope was much increased by the Intreaties of *Queen Anne*, his Consort, a good and pious Lady, who being with Child was in fear that she should miscarry if the King came to a Rupture with His Holiness.

by the Death of the Cardinal of *Rouen*; for to those who exhorted him to think of Peace, since all Occasions of Jealousy were now removed, he answered, that the same King was living, and therefore the same Cause of Jealousy subsisted; adding, in Confirmation of his Words, that he knew that the Agreement made by the Cardinal of *Pavia* had been broken by the King, of his own meer Motion, contrary to the Will and Advice of the Cardinal of *Rouen*. And indeed to those who considered, with more than ordinary Attention, the Steps taken by the Pope, it appeared that his Spirits and Hopes were increased and enlivened on this Event; and not without Reason: For the King was of such a Disposition that he was fitter to receive than to give Directions in Matters of State; and it is not to be doubted but that the Death of the Cardinal of *Rouen* much weakened his Administration, if we consider that this Prelate, besides his long Experience, was of extraordinary Merit, and bore a mighty Sway, and had so great an Authority with the King that his Counsel was almost constantly followed; hence, trusting to his

A. D.

1510.

Merit, he frequently took upon him to resolve in Matters of Importance, and to make such Regulations in public Affairs as best suited his own Schemes. These were Qualifications not to be found in any of those that succeeded him in the Administration, who were so far from coming to a Resolution of themselves in Affairs concerning the State, that they durst not even speak to the King on such Points as they knew would disturb him. Nor did the King himself repose the same Confidence in their Advice ; and the Affairs of the Public being now entrusted in the Hands of Many, who were cautious of offending one another, and not confiding in their new Authority, they proceeded with less Resolution, and more Coolness than the Importance of the present Juncturerequired, or than was necessary to obviate the Ardor and Impetuosity of the Pope. For his Holiness would not accept of any of the Expedients proposed by the King, but, at last, openly insisted that his Majesty should renounce, simply and absolutely, and without any Limitation, his Protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*.
And

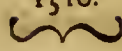
And when the King endeavoured to convince him that such a Renunciation would cast too much Infamy upon him, he answered in short, that since his Majesty refused to renounce simply, he would enter into no Agreement with him, nor yet act in Opposition to him, but would preserve himself free from all Obligations to any Person whatever, and quietly attend to the Defence of the State of the Church. He complained more than ever of the Duke of *Ferrara*; who being advised by his Friends to desist from making of Salt, answered, that he could not follow their Counsel, because he was not willing to prejudice the Rights of the Empire, to which the Dominion of *Comacchio* directly belonged.

A. D.

1520.

BUT, besides this, it was then thought, and in process of Time came to be firmly believed, that *Alberto Pio*, Ambassador of the King of *France*, did not discharge his Office with Fidelity, but exasperated the Pontiff against the Duke of *Ferrara*, from an ardent Desire, in which he continued till his Death, that *Alfonso* should be de-

Ambassa-
dor abuses
his Trust.

A. D. 1516.  prived of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*. For *Ercole*, the Father of *Alfonso*, having, not many Years before, received of *Gilberto Pio* a Moiety of the Dominion of *Carpi*, for which he gave him in Compensation the Castle of *Sassuolo*, with some other Lands, *Alberto* was apprehensive that, as it often happens for the weaker of two Neighbours to be forced to give way to the covetous Desire of the stronger, he should be obliged at last to make a Cession of the other Moiety, which was his own Property. But be that as it will, the Pope shewed more Signs of an implacable Spirit against *Alfonso*, and being determined to attack him by Force of Arms, he prepared for proceeding against him with Censures; and to justify his Measures he founded his Cause particularly on an Investiture which, he said, he had found among the Writings of the Apostolic Chamber, containing the Grant of the Town of *Comacchio* by the Popes to the House of *Este*.

THESE were the Pontiff's open and avowed Proceedings, while in secret he was forming Designs of much greater Undertakings.

Undertakings. And he flattered himself ^{A. D.} that he had laid a good Foundation for the ^{1510.} Success of his Schemes, since the *Swiss* were his Friends, and the *Venetians* were now ^{Pope encouraged in his Designs.} on their Feet again, and at his Devotion; the King of *Aragon*; he knew, was inclined to enter into his Measures, or, at least, was no hearty Ally to the King of *France*; *Cæsar* was so weak in Forces and Authority, that he had no Reason to be afraid of him; and he was not without Hopes of stirring up the King of *England*. But what above all things increased and hardened his Spirit, which ought to have softened it, was his knowing that the King of *France* had such an Abhorrence of making War against the Church, that he desired nothing so much as Peace; whence it was manifest that he would always have it in his Power to make an Agreement with that Monarch, even after he had taken up Arms against him.

JULIUS, on these Encouragements, grew every Day more insolent, and openly indulged himself in repeating his Complaints and Menaces against the King of *France*.

A. D. *France* and the Duke of *Ferrara*. On

1510.

the Festival of *St. Peter*, which is the Day appointed by antient Custom for offering the Tributes due to the Apostolic See, he refused to accept the Tribute of the Duke of *Ferrara*, alledging, that the Concession of *Alexander VI.* who, at the Marriage of his Daughter, had reduced it from 4000 Ducats to a hundred, was not valid, as done in Prejudice to that See. And the same Day, having before refused to grant Leave to the Cardinal of *Auscb* and the other *French* Cardinals to return into *France*, being informed that the Cardinal of *Auscb* was gone out with Nets and Dogs into the Country, he had an unreasonable Suspicion that he designed to convey himself away privately, and ordered him in all Haste to be seized, and confined in the Castle of *Saint Angelo*. And now he had thus openly discovered that he was fallen at Variance with the King of *France*, he was obliged so much the more to enlarge his Foundations, and strengthen himself on a better Bottom. With this View he granted the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Catholic

Pope seeks
to engage
the King
of *Spain*.

tholic King, with the same Tribute on *A. D.*
 which the *Aragonian* Kings had obtained, ^{1510.}
 it; though before he had denied to grant
 it under a Tribute of 48000 Ducats, which
 the Kings of *Naples* of the *French* Race
 had paid for it. *Julius*, in granting this
 Favour, had not so much an Eye to the
 Obligation by which that King, according
 to the antient Custom of Investitures, was
 bound to furnish, whenever it should be
 required, 300 Men at Arms for the De-
 fence of the Ecclesiastical State, as a De-
 sire to gain his Friendship, and Hopes that
 these Assurances * might, at a proper Op-
 portunity, induce him to declare himself
 openly against the King of *France*. And,
 indeed, the Seeds of Discontent were al-
 ready sown between the two Kings: For
 his Catholic Majesty was under Appre-
 hensions from the Greatness of the King of
France, and jealous of his Ambition, which
 would not suffer him to content himself
 with the Limits prescribed him by the
 League of *Cambray*, but excited him to
 bring under his Dominion the City of *Ve-*
rona. He was also stimulated by his old
 Emulation,

* Which he might expect from the *Swiss*, *Venetians*,
 and himself.

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Emulation, which made him ardently desirous of stopping his prosperous Career, and preventing the Accomplishment of his Designs. For this End he was continually labouring to bring about an Agreement between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, so much desired by the Pope; and though *Ferdinando* was extremely wary and secret in taking these Measures, it was yet impossible to cover his Designs so as to guard against a Suspicion. Whilst therefore his Armada, designed for the Attack of the Island of *Gerbe*, called, by the *Latins*, *Meninge*, lay off *Sicily*, it raised the Jealousy of his Most Christian Majesty, and Doubts and Apprehensions in the Minds of those who were acquainted with the *Spanish* King's Arts of disguising his real Intentions.*

BUT now came fresh Troubles upon the King of *France*, who was alarmed from a
Quarter

* This Armada of *Ferdinando*, after the Conquest of *Tripoli* in *Barbray*, attacked the Island of *Gerbe*; but the Soldiers wanting Water, and marching in Search of it, fell into an Ambush of the *Moors*, and were all cut to Pieces, to the Number of 4000, and among them Don *Garzia*, Son of the Duke of *Alva*, a valiant Youth of great Hopes. Bishop of *Nebbio*.

Quarter whence he least expected it, and at a Time when he thought himself secure from all Preparations of War, of which there did not appear the least Movement. For the Pope carrying on his Designs with the deepest Secrecy, had contrived that *Genoa* should be attacked both by Land and Sea at the same Time; that 12000 *Swiss* should make a Descent into the Dutchy of *Milan*, and that the *Venetians*, with their whole united Strength, should put themselves in Motion for recovering their Towns which were in the Possession of *Cæsar*; and his own Army should enter the Territory of *Ferrara*, with an Intention, if the *Swiss* went on prosperously, to proceed from thence into the Dutchy of *Milan*. He was in hopes that, if *Genoa* were unexpectedly attacked, he could easily effect a Revolution in that City, by the Favour of Multitudes who were averse to the *French* Government; and that the Party of the *Fregosi* might be induced to assist in the Undertaking, the Proceedings were to pass under the Notion of creating Doge *Ottaviano*, whose Father and Uncle had enjoyed the same Dignity. The *French*,
he

A. D.

1510.

Pope's secret Projects.

A. D. he imagined, being in Confusion at the
 1510. Commotion in *Genoa*, and attacked by
 the *Swiss*, would recall all the Troops
 which they had sent to the Assistance of
Cæsar and the Duke of *Ferrara* into the
 Dutchy of *Milan*; by which Means the
Venetians might easily recover *Verona*, and
 afterwards proceed against the State of
Milan; and his own Troops might with-
 out Difficulty, as he hoped, get Possession
 of *Ferrara*, abandoned by the *French* Aux-
 iliaries. All these things considered, made
 it appear impossible for the *French* to de-
 fend the *Milanese* against so many Ene-
 mies, and so sudden an Attack.

Pope at-
 tacks
Ferrara.

THE Enterprises against *Ferrara* and
Genoa were undertaken at the same Time:
 For though the Duke of *Ferrara*, against
 whom the Pontiff, to hasten the Exe-
 cution, proceeded as against a notorious
 Delinquent, had offered to give him
 what Salts he had made at *Comacchio*,
 and promised to make no more, he dis-
 missed his Ambassadors from his Court,
 and gave Orders to his Troops to march
 against him. The Castles of *Cento* and
la Pieve

THE WARS IN ITALY. 63

la Pieve were surrendered to them on the A. D. Summons only of a Trumpet, *Alfonso* 1510. making no Defence. Those Places, which first belonged to the Bishopric of *Bologna*, were appropriated to the Dutchy of *Ferrara* by Pope *Alexander* on the Marriage of his Daughter, and the Loss to the Bishopric made good by other Revenues.

IN the Expedition against *Genoa* were employed twelve light Gallies of the *Venetians* under Admiral *Grillo Contareno*, Enter-
prise
against
Genoa: and one of the Pope's. Aboard the Fleet were *Ottaviano Fregoso*, *Gieronimo Doria*, and many other Exiles. At the same time *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, with 100 Men at Arms and 600 Foot, marched against that City by Land. This Officer having left the Service of the *Florentines*, was enlisted by the Pope, and had taken up his Quarters in the Territory of *Lucca*, on Pretence of recruiting his Company, spreading a Report that he was afterwards to march for *Bologna*. And though by his Station at *Lucca* he gave Suspicion to *Chaumont* of a Design against *Genoa*, yet he knew nothing of the Coming of the Fleet; and

A. D. 1510. and it being industriously reported, by the cunning Contrivance of the Pope, that the Preparations of the *Swiss* for putting themselves in Motion, and the Stay of *Marc' Antonio* were only with an Intention to make a sudden Attack upon *Ferrara*, *Chau-mont* had made no other Provisions for the Defence of *Genoa* then sending thither a small Number of Foot. *Marc' Antonio* proceeded with his Troops into the Vale of *Bisagna*, a Mile from the walls of *Genoa*, though he had not been received, as the Pope had persuaded himself, into *Serzana*, nor into the Town of *Specie*.* At the same Time, the naval Armament, which had taken Possession of *Sestri* and *Cbiaueri*, had proceeded from *Rapalle* to the Mouth of the River *Entello*, which falls into the Sea near the Port of *Genoa*. At the first Report of the Approach of the Enemy, the Son of *Gianluigi-del Fiesco* entered that City at the Head of 800 Peasants, in favour of the *French*, as did the Nephew of

* The Town of *Specie* was found destitute of Defence and immediately possessed by the Ecclesiastic Troops Bishop of *Nebio*, *Mozenigo* says it capitulated; and it appears below by *Antonio's* sending back his Troops to *Specie*, that the Place was open to them.

of the Cardinal of *Finale*, with as many more; which were a sufficient Safeguard to the Place, and secured its Peace, so that no Commotion happened. Thus the Exiles and the Pope being disappointed of their principal Hopes, and farther Supplies of Troops continually arriving from *Lombardy* and the *Western Riviera*, besides Admiral *Prujean* having entered the Port with six large Galleys, it was now thought not only fruitless but dangerous to remain before *Genoa*, and therefore the Fleet by Sea, and *Marco Antonio* by Land, retired to *Rapalle*, having by the Way made an Attempt upon *Porto-fino*, where *Francesco Bollano*, Captain of a *Venetian* Galley was killed. The Fleet soon after setting out from *Rapalle* in order to retire to *Civita Vecchia*, *Marco Antonio Colonna*, not thinking he could conduct his Men in Safety by Land, because the whole Country was up in Arms, and the Peasants, as usual, burning with Vengeance against the Soldiers when they retreat under Misfortunes, embarked on board the Galleys with 60 of his best Horse, and sent back the rest of his Troops by Land to *Specie*;

A. D. but most of them were plundered and
 1510. stripped in the Territories of *Genoa* and
Lucca, and on the Borders of the *Florentines*.

THUS ended the Enterprize upon *Genoa*, not much to the Honour of *Grillo* and *Ottaviano*, because they forbore, out of Fear, to attack *Prujean's* Fleet, which had they done before it got into the Port of *Genoa*, it was believed that, by their Superiority, they might have obtained a considerable Advantage. After their Departure *Prujean* set out of the Port with seven Galleys and four Ships in pursuit of the *Venetian* Squadron, which, though superior in Number of Galleys, was inferior in Ships. Both Squadrons put in at the Isle of *Elba*, the *Venetians* into *Porto Lungone*, and the *French* into *Porto Ferrajo*; but the *French* Squadron, after following the Enemy along the Coast as far as *Monte Argentaro*, returned to *Genoa*.

THE Troops of the Pontiff, under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino*, were by this Time entered into *Romagna* against
 the

the Duke of *Ferrara*: Here, after they had taken the Town of *Lugo*, *Bagnacavallo*, and all that the Duke possessed on this Side the *Po*, they laid Siege to the Castle of *Lugo*. But, while they lay here in a careless and disorderly Posture, on receiving Intelligence that the Duke of *Ferrara*, with the *French* Troops and 150 Men at Arms of his own, and a good Number of Light Horse, were coming to succour the Place, the Duke of *Urbino* raised the Siege in all Haste, and leaving three Pieces of Cannon behind him retired to *Imola*; and *Alfonso* laid hold of this Opportunity for recovering all that had been taken from him in *Romagna*. But the Ecclesiastic Army being put in good Order, and considerably augmented, the same Towns were easily retaken, and in a short time after the Castle of *Lugo* was surrendered, after it had stood a Battery of several Days. After the Taking of this Place, an Opportunity presented itself for greater Success: For there being no Garrison in *Modena*, the Duke being employed in making Provisions for the Defence of other Places where the Danger was nearest,

A. D.
1510.

A. D.

1510.

Pope's Ar-
my takes
Modena.

and not able to furnish the necessary Supplies of himself, nor obtain of *Chaumont* an Order for 200 Lances to be sent into that Place, the Cardinal of *Pavia* marching with the Army to *Castel Franco*, suddenly took Possession of that City by Agreement, being invited thither by *Gherardo* and *Francesco Maria Rangoni*, Noblemen of *Modena*, of so great Authority, that they had it in their Power, especially *Gherardo*, to dispose of the Place into what Hands they pleased; and were incited to take this Step, as it was believed, more by Ambition and a Desire of Change, than by any other Motive. After the Loss of *Modena*, *Alfonso*, being in Pain for *Reggio*, immediately put some Troops into that City; and *Chaumont*, regretting his former Want of Precaution in not saving *Modena*, ordered thither 200 Lances, though he could not so well spare them on account of the Motions of the *Swiss*.

THE Confederacy between the King of *France* and the *Swiss* was expired many Months ago, the King persisting in his Resolution not to augment their Pensions, though

though contrary to the Advice of his whole ^{A. D.} Council, who represented to his Majesty ^{1510.} the dangerous Consequences of making that Nation his Enemies, by whose Arms he had before struck a Terror into all that opposed him. The *Swiss* therefore resting themselves on the Authority and Promises of the Pontiff, and instigated by the Bishop of *Sion*, but above all provoked to Indignation against the King for his rejecting their Demands, had in a general Diet of the Cantons, held at *Lucern*, resolved, by a vast Majority, to take the Field against the *French*. *Chaumont*, foreseeing their Motions, had posted Guards at the Passes towards *Corno*, removed all the Boats from the Lake, ordered the Provision to be brought into Places of Security, and the Mills to be rendered useless. Uncertain however whether the *Swiss* would attempt a Descent into the Dutchy of *Milan*, or passing the Mountain of *San Bernardo* enter *Piedmont* by the Valley of *Augusta*, in order to march to *Savona* with an Intention to raise Commotions in *Genoa*; or from thence to pass the *Apennine*, and march against the Duke of *Ferrara*, he had pre-

A *D.* vailed with the Duke of *Savoy* to refuse them a Passage; and, the more effectually to prevent it, had, with the Duke's Consent, ordered 500 Lances to march for *Jurea*. In the mean time he used all his Endeavours to divert them from their Enterprize, by corrupting the Heads of the Cantons with Gifts and Promises. But all he could do was of no Effect; for so great was their Hatred, and so much were they incensed, especially the common People, against the Name of the King of *France*, that they regarded the Cause as their own Concern; and, notwithstanding the Difficulties they met with in getting Remittances from *Rome*, because the *Fouquiers*, German Merchants, who had undertaken to pay them, now refused it, for fear of incurring the Displeasure of the King of the *Romans*, 6000 of them, who were in the Pope's Pay, put themselves in Motion at the Beginning of *September*. Among this Body were 400 Horse, Half of whom carried Fire-Arms; of the Foot 2500 were armed with common Guns, and fifty with Harquebusses; without Cannon, or any Provision of Pontons or Boats. They set out by

Swiss
march a
gainst the
French.

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by the Road to *Belinzone*, and took Possession of the Bridge of *Tresa*, which was abandoned by 600 *French* Foot appointed to guard that Post, and halted at *Varese*, in Expectation, as they gave out, of the Bishop of *Sion* with another Body of Troops.

A. D.
1510.

THE *French* were very much concerned at these Motions, both for the common Terror which the *Swiss* carried with them, and more especially on account of the small Number of Men at Arms which they had at *Milan*; for Part of them were distributed into Garrisons at *Brescia*, *Lignago*, and *Peschiera*; 300 Lances had been sent to the Assistance of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and 500 served in the *German* Army against the *Venetians*. *Chaumont*, however, assembled his Forces, and marched with 500 Lances and 4000 Foot to the Plain of *Castiglione*, two Miles distant from *Varese*, having sent Orders to *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi* to march to the Mountain of *Brianza*, that with the Assistance of the Peasants, on which he had more Dependence than on the few Troops which that General carried with him, he might use

A. D. his best Endeavour to prevent the *Swiss*
 1510. Troops opening a Passage that Way. But
 as soon as they arrived at *Varese*, they sent
 to demand a Passage of *Chaumont*, saying
 that their Intention was to go into the Ser-
 vice of the Church. *Chaumont*, on this
 Message, began to doubt whether they de-
 signed to march to *Ferrara* through the
 Dutchy of *Milan*, in which Road, besides
 the Opposition of the *French*, they would
 meet with the Difficulties of passing the
 Rivers *Po* and *Oglio*; or whether they
 would turn to the Left, and fetching a
 Compass by the Hills under *Como*, and so
 by *Lecco*, pass the *Adda* in Places where it
 was narrow and less rapid, and pursuing
 their March over the Hills of the *Berga-*
masco and the *Brescian*, pass the *Oglio*, and
 either through the *Brescian* or the *Ghiara-*
dadda make their Descent into the *Man-*
touan, in which Case their March would
 be through a wide and open Country,
 where were no Towns or Forces to give
 them any Obstruction. In either of these
 Cases it was the Intention of *Chaumont* not
 to come to a Battle with them, even though
 they should descend into the plain Country,
 so

Chau-
mont's
 Measures
 for op-
 posing the
Swiss.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 73

so great was the Dread of the Valour and Discipline of that Nation, but to join all his Forces, both Horse and Foot, attended with a good Number of Field Pieces, and closely to observe their Motion, intercept their Provisions, and incommode them at the Passage of Rivers as much as it was possible, without coming to an Engagement. With the like View he provided the Places about *Varese* with good Garrisons of Horse and Foot, which often alarmed the *Swiss* in the Night, and kept them continually under Arms.

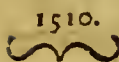
AT *Varese*, where was already a great Want of Provisions, the *Swiss* were joined by 4000 more of their Comerades; and the fourth Day after their Junction they put themselves in Motion in one Body towards *Castiglione*, and turned towards the Left by the Hills, marching slowly, but always in close and very good Order in Files of 80 or 100 Men, the last Files consisting of those who carried, Fire-Arms. In this Manner they proceeded, valiantly defending themselves against the *French* Army, which closely attended their Progress, and annoyed

A. D.
1510.

Progress
of the
Swiss.

A. D.

1510.



annoyed them with perpetual Skirmishes both in Front and in Rear; and it was customary for 100 or 150 *Swiss* to march out from their Body to skirmish, but neither in Advancing, Standing, or Retiring, did they ever break their Ranks. In this Order they arrived on the first Day of their March at the Bridge of *Vedan*, which was guarded by General *Molard* with some *Gascon* Foot, whom they dislodged with their Fire-Arms, and lodged that Night at *Appiano*, eight Miles from *Varese*, while *Chaumont* took up his Quarters at *Affaron*, a large Village towards the Mountain of *Brianza*, six Miles distant from *Appiano*. The next Day the *Swiss* directed their March by the Hills on the Road to *Cantù*, *Chaumont* observing them with only 200 Lances, having, on account of the Ruggedness of the Places, left the Artillery, with the Foot that guarded it, lower down. But when the *Swiss* were got half way, either on account of the Molestations which, as *Chaumont* boasted, they received that Day from the *French*, or because they had so appointed, they went off from the Road to *Cantù*, and turning more to the Left, marched over
the

THE WARS IN ITALY.

75

the higher Grounds retiring towards *Como*,
 and lodged at Night in the Suburbs of that
 City, and in the neighbouring Villages.
 From the Suburbs of *Como* they advanced
 three Miles, and took up their Quarters
 next Night at *Chiasso*, keeping the *French*
 in Suspense, whether they would return to
Belinzona by the Valley of *Lugara*, or
 proceed towards the *Adda*, over which,
 though they had no Pontons, many were
 of Opinion that they would make a Shift
 to pass all in a Body together on Planks.
 But the next Day removed all Doubts, for
 they marched and took up their Quarters
 at the Bridge of *Tresa*, whence they dis-
 persed themselves to their own Habitations,
 being reduced to the last Extremities for
 want of Bread, and vastly distressed for want
 of Money. And this sudden Retreat is
 ascribed to their being destitute of Money,
 and to the Difficulty of passing the Rivers,
 but much more to the Scarcity of Pro-
 visions.*

A. D.
1510.

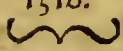
Retire to
their own
Country.

THUS

* The Bishop of *Nebbio* imputes this Retreat of the
Swiss to Treachery; and says, it was reported that they
 had received 60,000 Crowns of the Pope, and afterwards
 agreed

A. D.

1510.


 THUS were the *French* at that Time delivered from a Danger, which had given them no little Concern ; though the King, magnifying the good State of his Affairs beyond what was Truth, pretended that he was in Doubt whether it would not have been more for his Interest to have let the *Swiss* pass ; for it was a Question whether the Pope would be weaker without Forces, or with such as would be burthensome and offensive to him, which would certainly have been the Case if the *Swiss* had been suffered to join him, since he himself, who had the Command of such great Armies and Treasures, had been at infinite Pains to manage them. But the *French* would have run a greater Risque, if the Enterprises concerted by the Pope had been all put in Execution at the same Time.

agreed with the King. He adds, that though they had retained their antient Firmness and Order in Battles, they had for many Years renounced their antient Fidelity. *Mocenigo* says that they returned home for want of Provisions ; though he owns that they made an Agreement with the King of *France* ; and he praises *Chaumont* to the Skies for knowing how to temporise and reduce them to Straits ; comparing his Conduct with that of *Fabius Maximus* against *Annibal*.

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1510.

Time. But as the Enterprife upon *Genoa* preceded the Movement of the *Swiss*, so the *Venetian* Army was more backward in taking the Field than had been designed, though they had a very fair Opportunity. For the *German* Troops which, after the Departure of *Chaumont*, remained, together with the *Spanish* Infantry and the Five Hundred *French* Lances, in the *Vicentine*, being much diminished, the *Venetian* Army marched out of *Padoua*, and easily recovered *Esti*, *Monfelize*, *Montagnana*, *Marostico*, and *Basciano*; and still advancing forwards, and the *German* Troops retreating towards *Verona*, entered *Vicenza*, which was abandoned by the Enemy; and, except *Lignago*, they recovered all that they had lost that Summer with such vast Expence and Labour of the *French*. From *Vicenza* they proceeded to *San Martino*, five Miles distant from *Verona*, the Enemy retiring into that City; and their Retreat would not have been without Danger, if it be true, as the *Venetians* affirm, that *Lucio Malvezzo**

Venetians
recover
Vicenza,
&c.

who,

* *Bembo* charges *Lucio* with Neglect and Cowardice; but *Mocenigo* says, that *Lucio's* Advice was to proceed warily,

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1510.

who, by *Gian Pagolo Baglione's* leaving the Service of the *Venetians*, had the Command of the Army, had not wanted Spirit and Resolution to attack them. For the *Venetian* Army being advanced to *Villa della Torre*, the Enemy leaving great Store of Provisions in their Camp retired to *Verona*, the *Venetians* following them with their whole Force, and harraßing them continually with their Light Horße; but the *French* in the Rear guard manfully sustained their Attacks, being much favoured by their Artillery, and afterwards passing the River *Arpago*, continued their March without Loss to *Villa Nuova*. The *Venetians* encamped at the Distance of half a Mile from them; but the next Day, not caring to follow them, because, as they alledged, their Infantry could not keep up with the Horße, the *Germans* safely retired into *Verona*. From *Martino*, after a Delay of several Days, the *Venetian* Army approached *Verona*, not without Blame for deferring it so long, and, began to batter with their Cannon, planted on an opposite Hill, the

Castle

rily, and not to run the Hazard of losing the Acquisitions they had made; and that it was sufficient for their Honour to put the Enemy to Flight.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

79

A. D.

1510.

Castle of *San Felice*, and the adjoining Wall; chusing perhaps that Place, because a Breach could not be repaired there without Difficulty, and because it was very incommodiously situated for the Enemy to make use of their Horfe. The *Venetian* Army consisted of Eight Hundred Men at Arms, and Three Thousand Light Horfe, the greater Part *Stradiotti*, and Ten Thousand Foot, besides a vast Multitude of Peasants. The Garrison of *Verona* was composed of Three Hundred *Spanish* Lances, One Hundred *German* and *Italian* Lances, above Four Hundred *French* Lances, Five Hundred Foot in the Pay of the King, and Four Thousand *Germans*; but no longer under the Command of the Prince of *Anhalt*, for he died some Days before. The People of *Verona* were disaffected to the *Germans*, and had Arms in their Hands, on which the *Venetians* grounded much of their Hopes. In the mean time their Light Horfe waded the *Adice* at a Ford below *Verona*, and scoured the whole Country. The *Venetians* continued to batter the Wall with great Fury, though the Cannon of the *French* in Garrison being covered by

its

A. D.
1560.

its Rampart did great Execution among the Besiegers, who were not intrenched, and *Lattantio da Bergamo*, one of their best Officers of Foot, had his Buttocks taken off by a Cannon Ball, and died a few Days after. At length the Artillery of the Besiegers had ruined a great Part of the Wall quite to the Edge of the Scarp, and the Cannon on that Side being all dismounted, so as not to be any longer in a Condition to fire, the *Germans* were not without Fear of losing the Castle, though it had good Ramparts: That the Loss of the Castle, however, might not be followed by that of the City, the designed, in case of Necessity, to retire to certain Intrenchments, which they had made in a Place that was near, where they had erected a Battery that was in readiness to play against the inward Face of the Castle, in hopes to open it in such a Manner that the Enemy should find it impossible to maintain themselves in it. But the Troops of the Garrison had a great Superiority in point of Goodness; for in the *Venetian* Army were no Foot besides *Italians*, who commonly receiving their Pay once in forty Days

Days, continued in their Service, more be- A. D.
 cause they found but very slender Substif- 1510.
 ence elsewhere, than for any other Rea-
 son. Hence the *Italian* Infantry, not be-
 ing trained to the strict Discipline of the
 Ultramontanes, nor qualified for standing
 their Ground in the Field, are now almost
 constantly rejected by those who can serve
 themselves with foreign Foot, especially
Swiss, Germans, or Spaniards. The De-
 fence therefore being managed with greater
 Resolution than the Attack, about Eighteen
 Hundred Foot, with some *French* Horse,
 made a Sally one Night to make an At-
 tempt on the Artillery. They easily dis-
 persed and put to Flight the Foot that
 guarded it, nailed up two Pieces, and
 were labouring to bring them into the
 Place, when the whole Camp being
 alarmed, *Zitolo da Perugia* with a strong
 Party of Foot hastened to their Rescue, where,
 valiantly fighting, he ended his Life with
 much Glory. But *Dionigi di Naldo* coming
 up with the greater Part of the Army, the
Germans were obliged to abandon the Ar-
 tillery, having acquired no small Honour,
 by first routing the Foot that guarded the
 VOL. V. F Cannon,

A. D.

1510.

Cannon, then killing Part of those who first came to its Rescue, and among others *Zitolo*, an Officer of Foot in high Reputation, and at last making their Retreat with very inconsiderable Loss. In short, the *Venetian* Generals being discouraged by this last Action, finding that the People of the City made no Stir, and judging that it was not only vain but dangerous to continue the Siege, as they were not very secure in their Quarters, their Foot being posted on a Hill, and the Horse in a Valley at a good Distance from them, they resolved to retire to their old Quarters at *San Martino*. And this Resolution was hastened by the Information they had received that *Chaumont* finding himself at liberty by the Departure of the *Swiss*, and understanding the Danger of *Verona*, was on his March to relieve it. As they were breaking up their Camp, the Foragers of *Verona*, with a great Escort, entered the Valley of *Polliente* under the Mountain of *San Felice*; but the *Venetian* light Horse hastening in great Numbers to the Assistance of their Foot, and seizing the Passes of the Valley, all those who came out of
Verona

Verona were killed or made Prisoners. D.
 From *San Martino* the *Venetian Army*, 1510.
 on Advice of the Coming of *Chauumont*,
 retired to *San Bonifacio*; about which
 Time the Troops that were left in Garri-
 son at *Trevigi* had the Town of *Affilio*,
 near the River *Musone*, in which were
 Eight Hundred *Germans*, surrendered to
 them upon Articles, and afterwards the
 Castle. In *Friuli* the War was prosecuted
 with the same Vicissitude of Fortune, and
 the usual Barbarities, there being no
 longer any fighting with Enemies in the
 open Field, but the Parties on all Sides
 making it their Business utterly to ruin
 and destroy the Houses, and lay waste
 the Country; and the Province of *Istria*
 was afflicted with the same dismal Cala-
 mities.

ABOUT this Time the Marquis of
Mantoua was delivered out of Prison, and
 his Liberty was obtained in a very re-
 markable Manner. It had been solicited
 by the Pope, who had before a Kindness
 for the Marquis, and designed to employ
 him in his Service, and to make Use of
 F 2 his

A. D.

1510

his State, which lay very commodious for carrying on a War against the King of *France*; and it was universally believed in *Italy*, that his Deliverance was effected by means of the Pope. I have however been informed by a very creditable Person, who was at that Time entrusted with the whole Administration of the State of *Mantoua*, that his Freedom was owing to a very different Motive. For it being suspected, and with good Reason, that the *Venetians*, either out of a Hatred which they had conceived against him, or Apprehensions from his Liberty, were inclined to keep him in perpetual Confinement; and several Methods having been tried in vain for his Release, it was resolved at last, in the Council of *Mantoua*, to have recourse to *Bajazet* the *Turkish* Emperor, whose Friendship the Marquis had for many Years cultivated by frequent Messages and various Presents. *Bajazet*, being informed of his Misfortune, sent for the *Bailo** of the *Venetian* Merchants who trafficked

at

* This Officer we now call the Consul, and he has the Charge of Affairs relating to the Merchants of his own Nation in that Port where he resides.

at *Pera**, and required of him a Promise A. D. 1510. that the Marquis should be set at liberty.

The *Bailo* refusing to promise what was not in his Power to perform, and offering to write to *Venice* about it, where he did not doubt but they would come to a Resolution conformable to his Desire, the Sultan replied in a haughty Tone, and told him that it was his Will that he should make an absolute Promise. On which he was necessitated to comply, and gave advice of it to the *Venetian* Senate, who considering that it was no fit Time to provoke so potent a Prince, determined to release the Marquis. But to hide the Disgrace, and to reap some Benefit from his Deliverance, they hearkened to the Request of the Pope, by which Means it was concluded, tho' secretly, that to secure the *Venetians* from being at any time molested by the Marquis, he should deliver his eldest Son into the Custody of the Pope, as a Hostage for his good Behaviour. The Marquis was conducted to *Bologna*, where, after he had consigned his Son into the Hands of the Pope's

F 3

Agents,

* A Suburb of *Constantinople*, where the *Franks* reside.

A. D. Agents, finding himself at liberty, he set
 1510. out for *Mantoua*, excusing himself to
Cæsar and the King of *France* by al-
 ledging that, on account of restoring good
 Order in his State, he was hindered from
 going to serve in their Armies, as a
 Feudatory of one, and in the Pay of the
 other, for the King had preserved him in
 his Post and Perquisites; but his real De-
 sign was to stand neuter.

THE ill Success of the Attempts which
 had been hitherto made, did not in any
 measure diminish the Hopes of the Pon-
 tiff, who promising himself more than
 ever a Revolution in the State of *Genoa*,
 resolved to make a fresh Attempt upon it.
 The *Venetians* therefore, who rather fol-
 lowed by Necessity than approved these
 impetuous Movements, increased their
 Fleet which lay at *Civita Vecchia* with
 four large Ships; and the Pope flattering
 himself that his Name would the more
 easily induce the *Genoese* to rebel, added
 his only Galeas with some other Vessels
 to the Fleet, and publicly blessed, with
 the pontifical Solemnities, his own Flag.
 Every

Every one was surpris'd that his Holiness, ^{A. D.} now his Designs were discovered, and ^{1510.} there were abundance of Soldiers in *Genoa*, besides a potent Fleet in the Harbour, could entertain Hopes of Success after he had so lately miscarried when there were no Ships fit for Service in the Port, but a very small Garrison in the Town, and there was no Suspicion of an Attack from him. Aboard the Fleet were the same Exiles as before, with the Bishop of *Genoa*, Son of *Obietto dal Fiesco*, and they were to join some Land Forces. For *Federigo*, Archbishop of *Salerno*, Brother of *Ottaviano Fregoso*, was lifting both Horse and Foot in the Towns of the *Lunegiana* with the Pope's Money. And *Giovanni da Saffatello*, and *Rinieri della Saffeta*, the Pope's Officers, had Orders to quarter with their Regiments at *Bagno della Poretta*, to be ready when occasion offered to approach *Genoa*.

BUT in that City powerful Preparations had been made both by Sea and Land; and therefore on Advice of the Approach of the Enemy's Fleet, which

A. D. consisted of Fifteen light Galleys, three
 1510. large Galleys, one Galeass, and three
Biscayan Ships, the *French* Squadron,
 consisting of twenty-two light Galleys,
 got out of the Port of *Genoa*, and put in
 at *Porto Venere*, their Safety depending
 on the Difference of the Vessels, for they
 were inferior to their Enemies united in
 one Body, but superior, or at least equal
 in Force with respect to Galleys, and
 could by their Lightness at any time dis-
 engage themselves from the Enemy, and
 get out of the Reach of their large and
 heavy Ships of War. The two Fleets
 came within Cannon-shot of one another
 off *Porto Venere*, and, after cannonading a
 while, the Pope's Navy proceeded to
Sestri in the *Eastern Riviera*, whence it
 presented itself before the Port of *Genoa*,
 which *Giovanni Fregoso* entered in a
 Brigantine. But the Town was so well
 guarded, that not a single Person of his
 Faction durst stir; and the Fleet being
 exposed to a brisk Fire of the Artillery
 from the Tower of *Codisa*, it was thought
 necessary to remove, and return to *Porto*
Venere, which they cannonaded for se-
 veral

The Ex-
 pedition
 miscarries.

veral Hours but with no Effect, so that they gave up all Thoughts of prosecuting the Enterprize, and returned to *Civita Vecchia*, whence the *Venetian* Fleet, by Consent of the Pope, set Sail for their own Sea*, but met with a violent Storm in the *Faro* of *Messina*, in which five of their Galleys were cast away, and the rest driven towards the Coast of *Barbary*, whence at last, in a shattered Condition, they got into their own Ports. The Land Forces did not assist in the Expedition, as it was designed; for the Troops which were levied in the *Lunegiana* judging, by the Report of the Preparations made by the *French*, that the Entrance into the *Eastern Riviera* would be too hazardous, made no Motion; and those that were at *Bagno della Poretta* excused themselves by alledging that the *Florentines* had denied them a Passage, and did not advance forwards, but entered upon the Mountain of *Modena*, which was in Subjection to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and attacked the Town of *Fanano*, but without Success; yet at last the Place, together

* The *Adriatic* Sea, or Gulf of *Venice*, in which the *Venetians* claim a Sort of Property.

A. D. ther with the whole Mountain, despairing
 1510. of Succours from the Duke of *Ferrara*,
 submitted to them.

THUS had the Pope hitherto miscarried in all his Enterprises against the King of *France*; for there happened no Revolution in the Affairs of *Genoa*, as he had confidently assured himself; nor had the *Venetians*, after their unsuccessful Attempt on *Verona*, any Hopes of making farther Progress on that Side; the *Swiss*, after making a Show rather than Use of their Arms, were gone off; and *Ferrara*, by the ready Succours of the *French*, and the coming on of the Winter Season, was judged to be out of Danger. In short, he had succeeded in nothing but in the stolen Acquisition of *Modena*, which was but a poor Recompense for such mighty Labours and Expences. And yet the Pontiff, though he found himself so grossly deceived by his flattering Hopes, seemed however, in his Deportment, to resemble what the fabulous Writers have recorded of *Antæus*, who, as often as he was disabled by the Force of *Hercules*, on touching the Ground, recovered still greater Strength and Vigour.

The

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The same Effect had Adversity upon the Pope; for when he seemed to be most depressed, and most dejected, he recovered his Spirits, and rose again with greater Firmness and Constancy of Mind, and with more pertinacious Resolution, promising himself from Futurity greater Matters than ever, yet having in a manner no other Resources than in himself, with a firm Confidence, as he said in public, that since he was not induced to any of his Undertakings by Motives of private Interest, but purely and solely to restore the Liberty of *Italy*, he should, by God's Assistance, see his Labour brought to a prosperous End. And indeed he had no manner of Reason to have any other Trust, being destitute of valorous and faithful Troops, and had no certain Friends but the *Venetians*, who were under a Necessity to run the same Fortune with himself, and of whom, as they were exhausted of Money, and sufficiently oppressed with Difficulties and Straits, he could have no great Expectations. The Catholic King chose rather to give him good Counsel in private than open Assistance, and sily at
the

A. D. 1510. the same time kept a Correspondence with *Maximilian* and the King of *France*, and what Promises he made to his Holiness were clogged with many Conditions and Delays. The Care and Pains he had taken with *Cæsar*, to separate him from the Friendship of the King of *France*, and to induce him to an Agreement with the *Venetians*, appeared more and more ineffectual. For when the Army of the Pontiff put itself in Motion against the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Cæsar* sent thither a Herald, to protest against molesting that Prince; and when *Constantino* of *Macedonia* waited on *Maximilian* with a Commission from the Pontiff to treat of a Peace between him and the *Venetians*, he refused him an Audience; and to shew that he intended to enter into stricter Bonds of Friendship with the King of *France*, he ordered the Bishop of *Goritz* to be sent to concert with his Most Christian Majesty the Plan of their future Operations. The Electors of the Empire, though well affected to the Papal Authority, and constant in their Devotion to the Apostolic See, would be at no Charges, and having all their Thoughts employed

employed on the Affairs of *Germany*, could do him but little Service in his Undertakings. And it did not appear that much more could be expected from the King of *England*, though young and ambitious of Innovations, and a Prince that professed to be a Lover of the Prosperity and Grandeur of the Church, and had heard the Ambassadors from his Holiness not without some Inclination to grant their Requests. For his Dominions were separated from *Italy* by too great an Extent of Land and Sea, and he could not of himself distress the Power of the King of *France*. Besides, he had ratified the Peace made between them, and by a solemn Embassy, sent for that Purpose, received that King's Ratification. It is most certain that any other Prince who had such weak Foundations to support his Undertakings, and so many Obstacles to surmount, would have given over his Pursuit, especially if it be considered that the Pope might have made his Peace with the King of *France* upon his own Terms, and such that, if he had been Conqueror, he could hardly have demanded more advantageous Conditions. For the
King

A. D.

1511.

A. D.
1510.

Inflexible
and reso-
lute Tem-
per of the
Pope.

King consented to abandon the Protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, if not directly, because his Honour was concerned, yet indirectly by referring his Cause to a Tryal, which would fall into the Hands of such Judges as would be sure to pronounce Sentence as the Pope should dictate. But when the Pontiff was assured of receiving Satisfaction on this Point, he further demanded the Restoration of *Genoa* to its Liberty, and was so obstinately bent on this his favourite Project that none of his intimate Friends durst contradict him. And, what is more, when the *Florentine* Ambassadors, at the Desire of the King, endeavoured to soften him, he was strangely discomposed, and shewed manifest Tokens of his Displeasure. And when a Gentleman from the Duke of *Savoy* addressed him with Offers from his Master to interpose his Mediation for negotiating a Treaty of Peace whenever he pleased, he burned with Indignation to such a Degree, that crying out, "This Fellow was sent hither for a Spy, and not as a Negotiator," he ordered him to be immediately clapt into Prison, and examined on the Rack. In short,

short, he became every Day more fierce A. D.
 and resolute under Difficulties, and scorn- 1510.
 ing all Dangers and Obstacles, he deter-
 mined to use his utmost Efforts for taking
Ferrara. Laying aside then for the pre-
 sent all other Projects he resolved to go in
 Person to *Bologna*, in order to hasten the
 Preparations by his Presence, to give Au-
 thority to the Undertaking, and to animate
 his Officers, whose Ardor did not answer
 his own Eagerness and Impetuosity. His
 own Forces, he said, were sufficient for
 the Conquest of *Ferrara*, in Conjunction
 with those of the *Venetians*, who being ap-
 prehensive that the Pontiff might at last,
 in despair of Success, come to an Agree-
 ment with the King of *France*, pushed him
 forwards on the same Measures.

ON the other hand the King of *France* King of
 being satisfied, by so many Experiments, France
 of the Pope's Animosity against him, and provides
 knowing that it was necessary to provide against
 for the Security of the State against new the Pope.
 Enterprises, resolved to defend the Duke
 of *Ferrara*, to strengthen as much as pos-
 sible his Alliance with *Cæsar*, and, with
 his

A. D.

1510

his Approbation, to persecute the Pope with spiritual Arms; to stand upon the Defensive till Spring, and then to pass into *Italy* in Person at the Head of a very powerful Army, in order to act against the *Venetians*, or against the Pope, according as the State of Affairs should require. He proposed therefore to *Cæsar* not only to put himself in Motion for passing the *Alps* against the *Venetians*, but also to lend him his Assistance for gratifying what he knew to be his Desire of old, in seizing on *Rome* and the whole Ecclesiastic State, as rightfully belonging to the Empire, as also on all the rest of *Italy*, except the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Genoa*, the Dominions of the *Florentines* and of the Duke of *Ferrara**. *Cæsar* was easily induced to enter into the King's Measures, and particularly, by virtue of the King's Authority, and by that of the *German* and *French* Nations, to convoke a General Council, not without Hopes of the Concurrence of the *Spanish* Nation, and
of

* All *Italy*, except the City of *Venice*, and some Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which was retained by the *Greek* Emperors, was, for above Five Hundred Years in Subjection to the Western Empire; till the Pope and other Princes by Degrees encroached on its Rights, and stripped it of its Appurtenances. *La Noue*.

of the *Spanish* Nation, and of the King of *Aragon*, who would hardly presume to contradict the Will of two such mighty Princes. And they had another very considerable Foundation for their Proceedings in this Affair; for many of the *Italian* and *Ultramontane* Cardinals, of a restless and ambitious Spirit, engaged to take the Cause into their own Hands, and openly to profess themselves the Authors. To settle these Matters the King waited with Impatience for the Arrival of the Bishop of *Goritz*, with a Commission from *Cæsar* for that Purpose; and in the mean time, for giving a Beginning to the Institution of a Council, and to exempt at present his Kingdom from Obedience to the Pope, he called a Convocation of all the Prelates of *France* to meet at the City of *Orleans* about the Middle of next *September*. Such were the Resolutions and Preparations of the King of *France*, which, however, were not wholly approved by his Court and Council, who, considering the ill Consequence that might happen from giving Time to his Enemy, were against deferring the Operations of War to another

A. D.

1510.

Season. And if he had been so happy as to follow their Advice, he would immediately have thrown the Affairs of the Pope into such Disorder, and embarrassed him to that Degree, that he could not have found it so easy as he did afterwards to excite so many Princes against him. But the King persisted in his Sentiments, either swayed by Avarice, or restrained by the Fear of incurring the Resentment of other Princes, if he should go to War with the Pope singly by himself, or perhaps he had an Abhorrence to such a Step as contrary to his Title of *Most Christian*, and to his Profession of being Defender of the Church, as his Predecessors in antient Times had always approved themselves*.

Pope invades the
Ferrarese.

THE Pope made his Entry into *Bologna* at the End of *September*, with a full Resolution to attack *Ferrara* with all his Forces and those of the *Venetians* both by Land and Water. The *Venetians* therefore, at his

* It has been a general Opinion that as often as the Kings of *France* came into *Italy* for the Sake of defending the Church, they always returned victorious; but whenever they attempted to deprive it of any of its Dominion or Privileges, they came off with Disgrace and Loss. *Aristotle*.

THE WARS IN ITALY.

99

his Sollicitation, manned out two Fleets, A D.
1510. of which one entering the *Po* by the *For-*
naci, and the other by *Porto di Primaro*,
committed very great Ravages in the *Fer-*
rarese, while at the same time the Eccle-
siastic Troops over-ran and plundered the
whole Country. They did not, however,
present themselves before *Ferrara*, for in
that City, besides the Duke's Forces, were
Two Hundred and Fifty *French* Lances ;
and the Ecclesiastic Army, though paid ac-
cording to the List of Eight Hundred Men
at Arms, Six Hundred light Horse, and
Six Thousand Foot, besides consisting for
the most part of Men picked up at Ran-
dom (as the Popes are commonly ill served
in Wars) came far short of that Number.
To this it might be added that *Chaumont*,
after the Loss of *Modena*, having ordered
Two Hundred and Fifty Lances and Two
Thousand Foot to post themselves between
Reggio and *Rubiera*, the Pope sent a De-
tachment of Two Hundred Men at Arms
and Three Hundred Foot, under *Marc'*
Antonio Colonna and *Giovanni Vitelli*, to
reinforce the Garrison of *Modena*. His
Holiness therefore was obliged to solicit

A. D. the *Venetians* to send into the *Ferrarese* a

1510.

Part of their Army, which had reduced almost the whole Province of *Friuli*, the Forces of *Cæsar* at *Verona*, and every where else, being much diminished. The Ecclesiastic Troops had again taken Possession of the Polesine of *Rovigo*, which was abandoned by the Duke, out of Care and Sollicitude to preserve his Capital. The Pope waited for Three Hundred *Spanish* Lances, which he had demanded of the King of *Aragon* on the Obligation of the Investiture, which were on their March under the Command of *Fabritio Colonna*. He designed, when these Forces had joined his Army, to attack *Ferrara* on one Side, while the *Venetians* did the same on another, persuading himself that the People, as soon as they saw his Army approach the Walls, would take up Arms against the Duke, though his Generals assured him that the Garrison was strong enough to defend the City with Ease against the Enemy, and to controul the People if they should have an Inclination to be tumultuous. He applied himself then with incredible Sollicitude to increase his Army by making
new

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new Levies in many Places. But the *Venetian* Reinforcements were longer on the March than the Pope wished; for when they had got together a Number of Boats on the *Po* in the *Mantouan* for laying a Bridge, the Duke of *Ferrara* with the *French* Troops suddenly attacked and carried them off. Besides this a Multitude of Boats, and other small Craft, together with the *Venetian* Proveditor, were taken on a Canal in the *Polesine*; and a Plot was discovered which the *Venetians* had set on Foot in *Brescia* for causing that City to revolt from the King of *France*, for which Count *Giovanni Maria da Martinengo* was beheaded.

A. D.
1510.
Plot discovered in
Brescia.

BUT much more dilatory were the *Spanish* Lances in their Motions than the *Venetians*; for these Troops, having advanced as far as the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, refused, in Pursuance of their King's Orders, to pass the River *Tronto* till the Bull of the Investiture already expedited was delivered into the Hands of his Ambassador. But the Pontiff suspecting that after the Bull was received the

A. D.

1510.

Troops that had been promised would never come to his Assistance, made a Difficulty of delivering it before they were arrived at *Bologna*. The Pope, however, could not be induced by these Difficulties, nor by the Remonstrances of his Officers, to diminish his Hopes of conquering *Ferrara* with his own Troops alone; and therefore he attended with wonderful Vigour to all the Operations of the War, tho' at that Time he was seized with a troublesome Disorder, under which he managed himself contrary to the Advice of his Physicians, which he despised as much as that of his Generals, promising himself the Victory over his Distemper as well as over his Enemies; because it was the Will of God, he said, that he should be the Author of the Restoration of *Italy* to its Liberty. It was by his Procurement also that the Marquis of *Mantoua*, whom he invited to *Bologna*, and honoured with the Title of Gonfalonier of the Church, entered into the Service of the *Venetians*, with the Title of Captain General, the Pope himself participating of his Conduct by giving him the Command of an Hundred

dred Men at Arms, and Twelve Hundred A. D. Foot. But it was agreed that these Trans-
 actions should be kept secret, because the ^{1510.}
 Marquis desired it, under Pretence that it
 was necessary for him to re-establish his
 Country in good Order, and to make
 proper Provisions for its Defence against
 the Insults of the *French*. But the Truth
 was, he submitted to take so weighty a
 Charge upon him not voluntarily, but
 necessitated by the Promises which he had
 made, and therefore endeavoured to de-
 lay as much as possible his entering on the
 Execution of his Office, in hopes that an
 Opportunity might offer which would en-
 able him to free himself from his Obliga-
 tion.

BUT now the Ardour of the Pope for
 infesting the Dominions of others was
 converted into a Necessity of defending his
 own, which would have suffered much
 sooner, and a greater Shock, had not
 some unexpected Accidents constrained
Chaumont to defer the Execution of his
 Resolutions. For after the *Venetian* Army
 had decamped from the Neighbourhood

A. D. 1510. of *Verona*, *Chaumont*, who was arrived at *Peschiera*, in his March to the Relief of that City, took a Resolution to turn with his Army, and make a sudden Attempt for the Recovery of *Modena*. His Troops that were posted at *Rubiera* had already taken the Town of *Formigine* by Storm, and it was believed that he would easily have made himself Master of the City of *Modena*, for the Garrison was but weak, the Place not fortified, nor were all the Inhabitants well affected to the Dominion of the Church. But it happened that, just as he was on the Point of Moving, he had notice that the *German* Foot in Garrison at *Verona* had made a Mutiny for the Retardation of their Pay, and, lest that City should be abandoned, was forced to suspend his March till he had composed the Tumults, which he effected at last by distributing Nine Thousand Ducats to the Soldiers in present Pay, and promising them the like Sum to be paid some time in the next Month. But, before this Disorder was remedied, another sad Accident intervened; for, after the *Venetians* had retired towards *Padoua*,
La

THE WARS IN ITALY. 105.

La Grotta, the Governor of *Lignago*, A. D. 1510. imagining that he had a fair Opportunity of plundering the Town of *Montagnana*, sent thither all his Lances and Five Hundred Foot; and while the Inhabitants defended themselves to save their Effects, arrived a Multitude of the *Venetian* light Horse, who finding the *French* in Disorder, easily routed them with very considerable Loss, for they had taken Care to break down a Bridge which prevented their Flight. And it is not doubted but that if the *Venetians* had immediately marched to *Lignago*, which was then in a manner destitute of Troops, they would have taken it *. But that Opportunity was soon lost, for *Chaumont*, receiving Intelligence of the Misfortune, sent thither with utmost Expedition a strong Reinforcement. But these Impediments deprived him of the Opportunity of recovering *Modena*, into which by this time had

* *Buonacorsi* says, that of the *French* escaped only one Page; and that the *Venetians* took the Colours of the Dead, and marched under them to *Lignago*, but were unhappily discovered, and failed of taking the Place. This Stratagem is much celebrated by the *Venetian* Historians.

A. D. had entered a plentiful Supply of Troops, and the Fortifications were diligently repaired; on his Arrival however at *Rubiera* the Pontiff was obliged to send to *Modena* the Army designed to attack *Ferrara*. The Ecclesiastic Forces being now all assembled in the *Modenese* under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino* Generalissimo, and the Cardinal of *Pavia*, the Pope's Legate, having under them *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, and *Giovanni Vitelli*, Commanders of great Reputation, the Pope was very eager for engaging with the Enemy; but found the Generals utterly averse to hazarding a Battle, because the *French* Army was undoubtedly superior both in Number and Goodness of Troops. For the Ecclesiastic Infantry was composed of Men levied in Haste, and there was neither that proper Obedience to Orders, nor that Discipline required in an Army; and besides there was an open Misunderstanding between the Duke of *Urbino* and the Cardinal of *Pavia*, which proceeded to such a Height that the Duke charged the other with High Treason, and either by his own Authority,

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Authority, or by the Pope's Orders, conducted him as a Prisoner to *Bologna*; but the Cardinal pleaded his Cause so well before His Holiness, that he cleared himself of all Aspersions, and obtained a greater Degree of Confidence and Authority with him than ever.

WHILE the two Armies lay thus in a manner fronting each other, *Chaumont* taking up his Quarters with his Horse at *Rubiera*, his Foot quartering in *Marzaglia*; and the Ecclesiastic Forces disposing of themselves at *Modena*, in the Suburb that looks toward *Rubiera*, and Parties making frequent Excursions and skirmishing together, the Duke of *Ferrara* first recovered the Polesine of *Rovigo* without Resistance, and then joining *Chatillon* and the French Lances easily retook *Finale*; after which he entered the Town of *Cento* through the Castle, which held out for him, and pillaged and burnt it. He then prepared to join *Chaumont*, which the Troops of the Church apprehending, they retired within the Walls of *Modena*, after posting Part of their Foot in the Suburb that faces the Mountain. But the

A. D.

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the Duke had hardly put himself in Motion when he was obliged to stop, and look to the Defence of his own Territory : For the *Venetians* to the Number of Three Hundred Men at Arms, a good Body of light Hóse, and Four Thousand Foot, were come with a Design to secure a Pass over the *Po*, and afterwards to join the Pope's Troops encamped before *Fichuerolo*. This is a small and weak Castle on the *Po*, but much celebrated in the Wars between the *Venetians* and *Ercole* Duke of *Ferrara*, for its long Siege by *Roberto da Severino*, and its Defence by *Federigo* Duke of *Urbino*, two very famous Generals of that Age. The *Venetians* now had it surrendered upon Articles, after they had battered it for some time ; and then took the Town of *Stellata* on the opposite Bank. Having thus the Command of the *Po*, there wanted nothing to pass it but the laying of a Bridge. But *Alfonso*, who after the Loss of *Stellata* was retired with his Forces to *Bondino*, frustrated that Attempt by planting his Artillery on a Point of Land from whence he had the full Command of *Stellata*, and besides scoured the *Po* with two Gallies.

The

The Duke, however, was soon obliged to withdraw his Shipping, for the *Venetian* Fleet, which at first had been prevented from entering the *Po*, because the Mouths of that River were guarded by the Duke's Forces, found Means to get into it by making their Way up the *Adice* against the Stream; so that the Territory of *Ferrara* became sadly infested between the *Venetian* Fleets.. But that Trouble did not continue long; for the Duke set out from *Ferrara*, and attacked the Fleet which, after entering by *Primaro*, was come up to *Adria*, and consisted of two Gallies, two Fufts*, and a Multitude of smaller Craft; he routed them without much Difficulty, and then betook himself to assault the other Fleet, which being composed only of Shallops and smaller Craft had entered the *Po* by the *Fornaci*, and was arrived at *Pulifella*. This Fleet durst not stand an Engagement, and endeavouring to retire into the *Adice*, through a Water that was near them, were prevented by its Shallowness; so that being attacked, and battered by the Enemy's Cannon, the
Troops

* A Sort of light Galley.

A. D. 1510. Troops on board, being incapable of making any Defence, abandoning their Vessels attended to save themselves and their Artillery.

Pope ex-
commu-
nicates the
Duke of
Ferrara.

French
Clergy
draw up
Articles
against the
Pope.

IN the Midst of this Bustle and Din of the temporal Arms, the Thunder of the spiritual Artillery began to rattle from all Parts. The Pope in public pronounced Sentence of Excommunication against *Alfonso d' Este*, and all those who had taken, or should take Arms in his Defence, *Chau-mont* by Name, with all the principal Officers of the *French Army**. On the other Hand the Assembly of the *French* Prelates transferred themselves from *Orleans* to *Tours*, where, rather because they would not oppose the Will of the King, who frequently assisted at their Meetings, than from their own Inclination and Sentiments, they consented to several Articles drawn up against the Pope, only with this Proviso, that before they withdrew their Obedience from

* Before the Pope excommunicated *Alfonso*, the Duke excusing himself by representing that he could not renounce his Alliance with *France*, the Pontiff in a Passion answered, "I will cure him of this inveterate Distemper, and treat him against his Will with proper salutiferous Medicines."

THE WARS IN ITALY. III

from him Ambassadors should be deputed A. D.
to him to ratify the Articles which had 1510.
passed in the Convocation of the *French*
Clergy, and to admonish him to be obser-
vant of them for the future, and, in case he
should afterwards act in Contravention to
them, to cite him before a General Council,
for which they would make Instances with
other Princes, in order to obtain the Con-
currence of all the Christian Nations. The
Assembly also empowered the King to raise
a large Sum of Money out of the Revenues
of the Clergy of *France*. And not long
after, in another Session held on the 27th
of *September*, they gave public Notice of a
Council to be held at *Lyons* in the Begin-
ning of *March* next ensuing. On the same
Day arrived at *Tours* the Bishop of *Goritz*,
who was received with such uncommon
and excessive Honours, as plainly shewed
with what Impatience his Coming had
been desired and expected.

General
Council
proclaim-
ed in
France.

A DIVISION of the Cardinals against the
Pope now began to shew itself: For the Car-
dinals of *Santa Croce* and *Cosenza*, *Spaniards*;
Bayeux and *St. Malo*, *French*; and *Fede-*
rigo

Cardinals
fall off
from the
Pope.

A. D. rigo Cardinal of *San Severino*, when the

1510.

Pope set out for *Bologna* through *Romagna*, visiting by the Way the Chapel of *St. Mary of Loreto*, much celebrated for an Infinity of Miracles, did not accompany him, but, with his Leave, took their Journey through *Tuscany*. When they came to *Florence* they obtained a Protection of that Senate, not for any limited Time, but till the Government should think fit to revoke it, and fifteen Days after such Revocation should be intimated; and here they delayed, on various Pretences, to proceed any further. The Pontiff growing jealous of their Stay, after repeated Instances for their coming to *Bologna*, wrote a Brief to the Cardinals of *St. Malo*, *Bayeux*, and *San Severino*, enjoining them, under Pain of his Indignation, to resort to Court. But he proceeded more gently with the Cardinal of *Cosenza*, and with the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who was a Person of great Note for his Birth, Learning, and for the Legations he had exercised by Commission for the Apostolic See, and only exhorted them by a Brief to favour him with their Presence at *Bologna*. Not one however of these

these Prelates were disposed to obey him; A. D. 1510.
 but after they had in vain solicited the *Florentines* to grant their Protection for a long and definite Space of Time, and not only to them but to all the Cardinals that should chuse to come thither, they quitted *Florence*, and took their Way through the *Lugliana* to *Milan*.

IN the mean time *Chaumont*, intent on Motion and Designs of recovering *Carpi*, which had been seized Chaumont: by the Troops of the Church, ordered thither *Alberto Pio*, and *Palisse* with Four Hundred Lances, and Four Thousand Foot. *Alberto* advancing before the rest with a Trumpet and a few Horse, the People of the Town, by whom he was greatly beloved, receiving Advice of his Coming, began to be tumultuous. On this the Ecclesiastic Troops in Garrison, to the Number of Forty light Horse and Five Hundred Foot, out of Fear abandoned the Place, and directed their March to *Modena*; but being pursued by the *French*, who arrived soon after, they were overtaken at *Prato del Cortile*, about half way between *Carpi* and *Modena*, and dispersed;

A. D. the Horse saved themselves, but most of

1510.

the Foot were lost. *Chaumont* thought it most for his Advantage to engage in Battle before the Enemy was joined by the *Spanish* Lancés, whose March the Pope endeavoured to quicken by depositing the Bull of Investiture in the Hands of the Cardinal of *Regino*, and by the *Venetians*, who, having thrown up some Works to cover themselves from *Alfonso's* Artillery, were in hopes of soon laying a Bridge. With this View he approached *Modena*: But, after some skirmishing between the light Horse on both Sides, the Ecclesiastics, as being conscious of their Inferiority, declining to draw out all their Forces, he lost all Hopes of coming to a general Engagement, and resolved to put in Execution what many, and especially the *Bentivogli*, by various Offers, had pressed him to undertake. They advised him not to waste his Time unprofitably about Enterprises of small Concern, which had more of Difficulty than Advantage, but to make a sudden Attack on the Seat of the War, and the principal Spring from whence proceeded so many Troubles and Dangers.

Now

THE WARS IN ITALY. 115

Now, they said, he had a fair Opportunity, since there were but few foreign Troops in *Bologna*, many of the People Favourers of the *Bentivogli*, and the greater Part of the rest much rather inclined to wait the Issue of Affairs, than by taking up Arms to expose themselves to Dangers, and create new Enemies. If he should let slip the present Occasion, it would be in vain to make an Attempt hereafter: For upon the Arrival of the Troops which were expected, either *Venetians* or *Spaniards*, he must never think of effecting, with a very potent Army, what was now in his Power easily to accomplish with a much smaller Force.

THE *French* General therefore assembling all his Forces, and the *Bentivogli* following him with some Horse and One Thousand Foot in their own Pay, took the Way between the Mountain and the high Road, and attacked the Castle of *Spilimberto* belonging to the Counts *Rangoni*, in which were Four Hundred Men of the Pope's Troops, who surrendered

A. D.

1510.

Chaumont
advances
towards
Bologna.

A. D.

1510.

Conster-
nation in
that City.

on Articles the same Day, after sustaining a short Battery. *Castel Franco* surrendered the next Day, and he then took up his Quarters at *Crespolano*, Ten Miles distant from *Bologna*, with an Intention to present himself the Day following before the Gates of that City. As soon as the News was spread in *Bologna* that *Chaumont* was coming, and that the *Bentivogli* were with him, the whole City was in an Up-roar, and all things were in Confusion as well among the Nobility as the common People, one Party dreading, and the other desiring the Return of the *Bentivogli*. But greater was the Disorder, and much greater the Consternation among the Prelates and Courtiers, who were not accustomed to the Dangers of War, but to the Idleness and Delicacies of *Rome*. The Cardinals, full of Sadness and Concern, flocked to the Pope, complaining that he had brought himself, the Apostolic See, and themselves into great and imminent Perils, and fatiguing him with pressing Instances that he would either make sufficient Provision for his Defence, which they thought impracticable in so short a Time,

Time, or that he would endeavour to compound Matters, on tolerable Conditions, with the Enemy, who were supposed not averſe to an Agreement, or elſe that together with his Court he would quit *Bologna*; exhorting him, if he himſelf was not moved by a Senſe of his own Danger, to conſider at leaſt how deeply it would affect the Honour of the Apoſtolic See, and of the Chriſtian Religion in general, if any Miſfortune ſhould befall his Perſon. All his moſt intimate Friends, and thoſe whom he moſt reſpected among his Miniſters and Servants joined in their Supplications to the ſame Purpoſe. But he himſelf alone, amidſt ſo great and univerſal a Confuſion and Diſorder, uncertain of the Affections of the People, and diſſatisfied at the Slowneſs of the *Venetians*, pertinaciously ſtruggled againſt his manifold Troubles, nor could the Diſtemper which ſhook his bodily Frame give the leaſt Bent to his Fortitude of Mind. He had, at the firſt Notice of the Danger, recalled *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, with Part of the Troops that were at *Modena*; and ſending for *Girolamo*

A. D.

1510.

Donato, the *Venetian* Ambassador, he made bitter Exclamations and Complaints against the Slowness of his Masters in sending him the Succours so often promised him, by which Means his State and his Person were brought into such great and imminent Danger; charging them not only with abominable Ingratitude towards himself, who had entered into the War principally for their Safety, and at a vast Expence and Hazard, and, by drawing upon himself the Enmity of the Empire and the King of *France*, had been the Cause that their Liberties were preserved to this Day, but also with the highest Imprudence in regard to themselves; for if he should be conquered, or constrained to submit to some Composition, what Hope could remain of their own Safety, and what would become of their Republic? At last he protested, with the most solemn Asseverations, that he would strike up a Peace with the *French*, if their Troops, which were at *Stellata*, having, on account of the Difficulty of laying a Bridge, passed the River in Boats and on Planks, did not enter *Bologna* to his Assistance

ance the next Day. He summoned together also the Magistracy and Colleges of *Bologna*, and in a grave and serious Manner putting them in Mind of the past Evils they had suffered under a Tyranny, and of the Mischiefs that attended the Return of exiled Tyrants breathing nothing but Cruelty and Revenge, he exhorted them to preserve themselves under the Dominion of the Church, which they had experienced so mild and favourable. And to make them the more ready to comply with his Desire, besides former Exemptions, he now took off half the Duties on Things necessary for Life that were brought into the City, and promised them yet greater Concessions. All this he notified by the common Cryer, inviting the People at the same time to take up Arms for the Defence of the Ecclesiastic State; but without any Effect, for not a single Person stirred, or gave the least Sign of being disposed to act in his Favour. Becoming therefore sensible at last of the great Danger into which he was fallen, he suffered himself to be overcome by the Importunities and Lamentations of the

A. D. Multitude of those about him, seconded

1510.

by the repeated Instances of the Ambassadors of *Cæsar*, the Catholic King, and the King of *England*, together with the Intreaties of the Cardinals, and gave his Consent for sending to *Chaumont* to demand a Pass for *Giovanfrancesco Pico*, Count of *Mirandola*, to wait on him with a Commission from the Pope. And a few Hours after he himself sent one of his own Chamberlains to request of the French General that he would send him *Alberto da Carpi*, not knowing that he was absent from the Army. At the same time, that he might secure the most precious Ornament belonging to the Pontificate, he sent away *Lorenzo Pucci*, his Datary, with the *Regno*, or principal Mitre, which was full set with the choicest Jewels, to be repositied in the famous Monastery of the *Murate* in *Florence*.

Pope con-
descends
to treat
with
Chaumont.

CHAUMONT, from this Request of the Pope, conceived Hopes that he was inclined to come to an Agreement, which he heartily desired, because he knew it was what the King wished; and that he might

might give no Disturbance to his Holiness in his good Disposition, he continued with his Army the next Day in the same Quarters. But he permitted however the *Ben-
tiovogli*, with a good Number of their Friends and Partisans, followed at some Distance by Fifty *French* Lances, to make an Excursion up to the very Walls of *Bologna*; and *Ermes*, the youngest but most resolute of the Brothers, presented himself before the Gates, yet their Coming occasioned not the least Commotion in the City. *Giovanfrancesco della Mirandola* had a favourable Audience of *Chau-
mont*, who sent him back the same Day to *Bologna*, to signify the Conditions on which he was content to make Peace: As first, that the Pontiff should absolve *Al-
fonso d' Este*, together with all those who, on any Account whatsoever, had acted in his Defence, or against the Ecclesiastic State, from their Censures: That he should in like manner absolve the *Benti-
vogli*, and take off their Fines, and restore those Effects which manifestly be-
longed to them; as to the rest, of which they were in possession before their Exile,
their

A. D.

1510.

Condi-
tions of
Peace
proposed
to the
Pope.

A. D.

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their Right should be decided at Law : That they should have Liberty to chuse their Habitation wherever they pleased, provided it were not within Eighty Miles of *Bologna* : That as to the Affairs of the *Venetians*, no Alteration should be made in the Dispositions concerning them made by the Confederacy at *Cambray* : That there should be a Suspension of Arms between the Pontiff and *Alfonso d' Este* for at least Six Months, during which Time the Differences between them should be decided by Arbitrators whom they themselves should appoint by consent, referring to *Cæsar* the Cognizance of the Affair of *Modena*, which City should immediately be deposited in his Hand ; *Cotignuola* was to be restored to the Most Christian King, the Cardinal of *Auch* set at liberty, the absent Cardinals pardoned, and all vacant Benefices in the Dominions of the King of *France* should be disposed of according to the Royal Pleasure.

THE Count returning with this Answer, not without Hopes that *Chaumont* would not rigorously insist on all these Articles, the

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the Pope, contrary to his Custom, heard his Report with Patience, as well as the Intreaties of the Cardinals, who beseeched him with the utmost Earnestness to accept of a Composition on these Terms, if he could obtain no better. *Julius* bemoaning himself on the unreasonable Exorbitancy of the Conditions prescribed to him, intermixing every Sentence with bitter Complaints against the *Venetians*, and seeming to stand in Suspense, suffered the Day to pass without declaring his Resolution. But his Hopes were exalted when in the Evening there entered into *Bologna*, *Chiappino Vitelli* with Six Hundred *Venetian* light Horse, and a Regiment from *Turkey* hired by the Republic. These Troops left *Stellata* the Night before, and came all the Way on the Spur, being charged by the *Venetian* Governor to use the utmost Speed. The next Day *Chaumont* with his whole Army took Post at the Bridge of *Reno*, three Miles from *Bologna*, where he was immediately attended by the Secretaries of the Ambassadors of the Kings of the *Romans*, *Aragon*, and *England*, and soon after by the Ambassadors themselves, who,

with

A. D.
1510.

The Pope
embarrassed.

A. D.

1510.



Resumes
Courage.

with *Alberto Pio* just arrived from *Carpi*, went that Day several Times to and from the Pope and *Chaumont*, but found them both much altered in their Dispositions. For the General, from the Experiment of the Day before, losing all Hopes of exciting an Insurrection in *Bologna* by means of the *Bentivogli*, and beginning to be straitened for Want of Provisions, which grew every Day scarcer, doubted of Success. And the Pope reanimated and enlivened by seeing the People at last make open Discovery of their good Disposition towards the Church, by taking up Arms the same Day; and now finding himself out of Danger, for he expected before Night, besides a farther Reinforcement of Two Hundred *Venetian* Stradiotti, *Fabritio Colonna* with Two Hundred light Horse, and Part of the *Spanish* Men at Arms, resuming his wonted Haughtiness, threatened to attack the Enemy as soon as he was joined by all the *Spanish* Troops, which were not far off. In this Confidence of Mind he gave no other Answer that Day to the Sollicitations made him, than that there were no Means for coming
to

to an Agreement, unless the King of *France* obliged himself totally to abandon the Defence of *Ferrara* *. The next Day new Conditions were proposed, on which Account the same Ambassadors returned to *Chaumont*; but these Terms were attended with such a Variety of Difficulties and Encumbrances, that *Chaumont*, despairing of making any Progress towards a Peace, either by his Arms or by a Treaty, and finding it difficult to remain in his present Situation on account of the Dearness of Provisions, and the Weather by the Approach of Winter beginning to incommode him, returned the same Day to *Castel Franco*, and the Day following to *Rubiera*, pretending that he was induced to retire by the Intreaties of the Ambassadors, and to give Time to His Holiness to consider the Terms proposed, as well as to himself

A. D.
1510.

Chaumont
retires.

for

* The Pope's Hopes and Spirits were raised to such a Height that his Fever left him, and he publicly declared the Grand Master of *France* and all the *French* excommunicated, if they presumed from that Time forwards to assist, in any Manner, the Duke of *Ferrara*. Bembo.

A. D. for knowing the Mind of the King on the
 1510. Affair*.

Reflect-
 ions on his
 Conduct.

MANY charged *Chaumont* on this Oc-
 casion with Imprudence in his Resolution,
 and Negligence in executing it. For as he
 had not Forces enough to undertake the
 Conquest of *Bologna*, considering that he
 had no more than Three Thousand Foot
 in his Army, it was an imprudent Step to
 put himself in Motion for that Purpose at
 the Sollicitations of Exiles, who, measuring
 their Hopes more by their Desires than by
 the just Standard of Reason, find themselves
 almost constantly deceived. But, since he
 had determined to undertake this Enter-
 prise, he should at least have supplied with
 Expedition what he wanted in Strength;
 whereas, on the contrary, he let slip his
 Opportunity by his Slowness. For, after he
 found himself at Leisure to move with his
 Forces from *Peschiera*, he lost three or
 four Days in considering the Weakness
 of

* *Chaumont* withdrew from the Territory of *Bologna*,
 not at the Intreaties, but Menaces of the *English* Ambassa-
 dor, who protested, in a haughty manner, that if the *French*
 did not depart out of the Dominions of the Church, the
 Peace between *France* and *England* must be considered as
 violated. *Mocenigo*.

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A. D.

1510.

of his Army, and stood in Suspense whether he should make an Attempt by himself, or wait till he was joined by the Forces of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the *French* Lances under *Chatillon*. Some may perhaps defend his Conduct in this Particular; but who can excuse him for not leading his Army, after the Taking of *Castel Franco*, to the Gates of *Bologna*, without giving Time to that City to take Breath, and before any Succours had entered it, while the People were in Suspense, and the Confusion and Terror, as it ordinarily happens in sudden Cases, increased above Measure, which were the only Means, if there were any at all, of obtaining a Conquest, or an honourable Composition? Yet perhaps we should often pay less Regard to the Authority of those who find Fault with the Conduct of Enterprises that have proved unsuccessful, if it were possible for us at the same time to know what would have happened from the Pursuit of different Measures.

AFTER the Retreat of *Chaumont* the Pope ob-
Pontiff inveighed bitterly against *Lewis*,
and War.

A. D. 1510. and filled the Ears of all the Christian Princes with Complaints that the King of France, unjustly, and in Contradiction to the Truth of Facts, assuming the Name and Title of *Most Christian*, and holding in Contempt the Confederacy so solemnly contracted at *Cambray*, prompted also by an ambitious Desire of seizing upon *Italy*, and a wicked Thirst after the Blood of the *Roman Pontiff*, had sent an Army to besiege him, with the whole College of Cardinals, and all the Prelates, in *Bologna*. His Holiness then returned with greater Ardor than ever to his warlike Schemes and Projects, and refusing to treat with the Ambassadors who, in Pursuance of the Negotiations begun with *Chaumont*, spoke to him about coming to an Agreement, he told them he would listen to no Terms till he was put in Possession of *Ferrara*. And though by the Fatigues which he underwent, from such a Variety of Business, both in Body and Mind, his Disorder was again exasperated, he applied himself afresh to raising of Soldiers, and to solicit the *Venetians*, who had at last laid a Bridge over the *Po* between *Fichervuolo* and *Stellata*, to send

send Part of their Troops, under the Marquis of *Mantoua*, to *Modena* to join his own Forces, and with the other Part to distress *Ferrara*, assuring them that in a very few Days he would make himself Master of that City, together with *Reggio* and *Rubiera*. The *Venetians* delayed to pass the River on account of the Danger which they were sure to incur, if, as it was feared, the Pope should happen to die. They were, however, at last constrained to submit to his Will, and leaving Part of their Forces on the farther Bank of the *Po*, they sent the rest, consisting of Five Hundred Men at Arms, Sixteen Hundred light Horse, and Five Thousand Foot towards *Modena*, but not under the Marquis of *Mantoua*; for he had stopped at *Sermidi*, and was busy in levying Soldiers both Horse and Foot, which he was afterwards to conduct, as he said, to the Army. By this Dilatoriness he had rendered himself suspected by the *Venetians*; he came however to *San Felice*, a Castle in the *Modenese*; but on receiving Advice that the *French* from *Verona* were ravaging the *Mantouan*, on representing the Neces-

Marquis
of *Mantoua* sus-
pected.

A. D 1510. fity he was under of defending his State, he returned with the Pontiff's Permission for *Mantoua*, but with heavy Complaints from the *Venetians*. For though he had promised to come back with all Speed, they suspected him of Infidelity, and believed, as it was also the general Persuasion throughout *Italy*, that *Chaumont*, to furnish him with an Excuse for not going to the Army, had, with his Consent, ordered some *French* Soldiers to make an Incursion into the *Mantouan*: And this Suspicion was increased after the Marquis had written to the Pope from *Mantoua* that he was detained there by Sickneſs.

Motions
of the
Pope's
Troops.

THE Troops of the Pope, thoſe of the *Venetians*, and the *Spaniſh* Lances, were now all joined together in and about *Modena*, and it was not doubted but that, if they had put themſelves in Motion without Delay, *Chaumont*, who, after quitting the *Bologneſe*, had, to ſave Charges, diſbanded his *Italian* Infantry, would have alſo abandoned *Reggio*, and preſerved only the Citadel. But reſuming Courage from the Slowneſs of the Enemy, he began to
make

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make fresh Levies, with an Intention to attend solely to the Preservation of *Sassuolo*, *Rubiera*, *Reggio* and *Parma*. While the Pope's Army lay thus encamped about *Modena*, uncertain as yet whether to proceed forwards, or to turn back towards *Ferrara*, some Squadrons of the Church, in an Excursion towards *Reggio*, were put to Flight by the *French* with the Loss of an Hundred of their Horse, and Count *Matelica* was taken Prisoner. At this Time the Duke of *Ferrara*, and M. *Chatillon* with the *French* Forces, being encamped along the *Po*, between the *Spedaletto* and *Bondino*, opposite to the *Venetian* Troops on the other Side of that River, the *Venetian* Fleet, on account of the Rigour of the Season, as it was ill supplied with Necessaries from *Venice*, being on its Retreat was attacked by a Number of Barks from *Ferrara*, which with their Cannon sunk eight of their Vessels, the rest with Difficulty making their Way to *Castle Nuovo del Po*, seated on the Ditch that discharges itself into the *Tanaro* and the *Adice*, where it is lost. The Pontiff then gave Orders that his Army, which, the Marquis

A. D.
1510.

A. D.

1510.

of *Mantoua* not having yet left his Capital, was under the Command of *Fabritio Colonna*, should leave a Garrison in *Modena* under the Duke of *Urbino*, and march directly for *Ferrara*; encouraging his Generals, who unaninously condemned this Step, with almost infallible Hopes of an Insurrection in that City. But after they had entered on their March they returned back the same Day by Order from His Holiness, without knowing what had induced him to so sudden a Change, and the first Design being laid aside they went and laid Siege to the Town of *Sassuolo*, into which *Chaumont* had put a Garrison of Five Hundred *Gascon* Foot. After two Days Battery, to the great Joy of the Pontiff, who heard the Roaring of his own Cannon against *Sassuolo* from the same Chamber in which he had a few Days before, to his great Mortification, heard the Thunder of his Enemy's Artillery at *Spilimberto*, as soon as the Assault was given, the Town was taken with very little Difficulty, for the Garrison was in Confusion; and the Cannon being immediately planted against the Castle where the Soldiers were retired,

tired, it no sooner began to play than the Place surrendered without making a Capitulation, to the great Disgrace or Misfortune of the Governor *Giovanni da Casale*, who had behaved in like manner in his Defence of the Castle of *Forli* against *Valentino*. He was a Man of very low Birth, and had risen to so considerable a Command, by being, when in the Flower of his Youth, a Favourite of *Lodovico Sforza*. After the Taking of *Sassuolo* the Army proceeded and took *Formigine*; and the Pope then gave Orders to lay Siege to *Montecchio*, a strong Town of Importance, situated between the high Road and the Mountain, on the Confines of *Parma* and *Reggio*, and in the Possession of the Duke of *Ferrara*, though partly in the Territory of *Parma*; but *Fabritio Colonna* refused to obey, alledging that he was prohibited by his King to molest any Place within the Imperial Jurisdiction.

Chaumont made no Provision against these Disasters, but leaving *Aubigni* with Five Hundred Lances and Two Thousand *Gascon* Foot, commanded by General *Mo-*

A. D. *lard*, in *Reggio*, shut himself up in *Parma*,

1510.

having received fresh Orders from his King to be frugal in his Expences. For His Majesty, continuing in his Resolution to lie still till the Spring, had made no Provision for his Affairs on this Side the Mountains; whence his Interest in *Italy* declined, and his Enemies took Encouragement. The Pontiff, impatient and dissatisfied that his Troops made no further Progress, would not admit the Excuses of his Generals, such as the Season of the Year and other Difficulties, but summoning them all to *Bologna*, proposed the Siege of *Ferrara*. None approved of the Project but the *Venetian* Ambassadors, who came into it, either out of Fear of incurring the Displeasure of his Holiness by contradicting him, or because their Troops might return nearer their own Borders. Every Body else condemned the Proposal, but to no Purpose, for he would allow of no farther Time for Consultation, but only to receive Orders. The Siege of *Ferrara* was then determined; but with this Precaution, that, to prevent the *French* from relieving it, an Attempt, if it did not prove very difficult,

was

Pope resolves on the Siege of *Ferrara*.

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was to be first made on *Mirandola*. This Town with *Concordia* were in Subjection to the Sons of *Lodovico Pio*, who were under the Tutelage of their Mother *Francesca*, and were kept firmly devoted to the French Interest by the Influence of *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, natural Father to the Lady, by whose Means her Children had obtained of *Cæsar* the Investiture of these Towns. The Pope had long before taken them under his Protection, as appeared by a Brief; but he excused what he was undertaking on account of the Condition of the present Times, which constrained him not to suffer these Places to be in the Possession of Persons whom he suspected; and offered, if they were voluntarily yielded up to him, to restore them as soon as he had acquired *Ferrara*. It was doubted at that Time, and the Doubt grew much stronger afterwards, that the Cardinal of *Pavia*, who was before suspected of holding private Intelligence with the King of *France*, was cunningly the Author of this Counsel, with a Design to divert, by this Enterprize upon *Mirandola*, the Siege of *Ferrara*; which City had at that Time no consider-

A. D. 1510. able Fortifications, nor numerous Garrison, the *French* were enfeebled in Body and Spirit by Fatigues, the Duke had no Power, and the King no Will to make better Provisions.

WHILE the Pope was thus ardently intent on promoting the Operations of War, the King of *France* chose rather to employ himself in Negotiations than in making fresh Preparations, and was continually treating with the Bishop of *Goritz* on Affairs that had been some Time depending. But though they seemed to admit of no Difficulty when first brought upon the Carpet, yet they were spun out to a great Length in the Negotiation, by the Delays of *Cæsar* in his Answers, and because there was some Doubt arising from the Conduct of the King of *Aragon*. That Prince, besides other suspicious Actions, had lately recalled his Troops from *Verona* into his Kingdom of *Naples*, on Pretence that a *Turkish* Fleet had appeared off *Otranto**. *Cæsar* and the King of *France* thought it necessary therefore to assure themselves of his

* The *Turks* actually appeared before *Otranto* and *Taranto* with a Fleet of four Gallies, five Sloops, and twelve Brigantines. *Meenigo*.

his Intentions, as well with Regard to the Continuation of the League of *Cambray*, as to what Measures were to be taken with the Pontiff, if he persisted in his Alliance with the *Venetians*, and in his Resolution of reducing the State of *Ferrara* under immediate Subjection to the Church. The Catholic King, after some Days, returned an Answer. to these Demands, taking Occasion at the same time to clear himself from the Complaints of *Cæsar* and the King of *France* against his Conduct. He had granted, he said, the Three Hundred Lances to the Pope, because he was obliged to it by the Investiture, and only for the Purpose of defending the State of the Church, and of recovering its antient Fiefs: That he had recalled his Men at Arms from *Verona*, because the Time for which he had promised them to *Cæsar* was expired; he should not, however, have ordered them home, if he had not taken Alarm at the *Turk*: That his Ambassador at *Bologna* had, together with other Ambassadors, interposed with *Chaumont* for procuring an Agreement, not to gain Time for the Pope to receive Succours, but with

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1510.

Answer of
the King
of *Aragon*
to the De-
mands of
Cæsar and
the King
of *France*,

A. D.

1510.

an Intent to extinguish so mischievous a Flame, that threatened to spread itself through Christendom, especially as he knew with what great Reluctancy his Most Christian Majesty made War upon the Church: It had been always his Purpose to fulfil his Engagements made at *Cambray*, and he was willing to exert himself much farther for the future, by assisting *Cæsar* with Five Hundred Lances and Two Thousand Foot against the *Venetians*. It was not his Intention by any means to bind himself under new Obligations, nor restrain himself by new Articles, because he saw no urgent Occasion, and he was willing to keep himself free, that he might be the better enabled to carry on a War against the Infidels of *Africa*: He would not be necessary to increasing the Dangers and Calamities of Christendom, which stood in Want of Repose: He approved of a General Council, and of a Reformation of the Church, provided it were universal, and that the Times were not unfavourable; and that he was of this Disposition none could be a better Evidence than the King of *France*, with whom he had communicated

cated his Sentiments on that Head at *Savona*. But the Times were now very un-
 seasonable ; for the Foundation of Councils must be Peace and Concord among Christians, since nothing can be concluded for the Good of the Public without a hearty Concurrence of united Wills. Besides, it was by no means commendable to hold a Council at such a Time, and in such a Manner, as to make it appear that it was set on Foot more out of Indignation and Revenge, than with Zeal for the Honour of God, or the Welfare of the Christian Republic. His Catholic Majesty besides spoke in private to the Ambassadors of *Cæsar*, and told them that he thought it very hard that he should be obliged to assist their Master in the Preservation of Towns, which he might afterwards make over to the King of *France* for a Sum of Money ; expressly mentioning *Verona*.

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THE Intentions of the Catholic King sufficiently appearing from his Answer, the Bishop of *Goritz*, Plenipotentiary from *Cæsar*, on one Part, and the King of *France* on the other, lost no Time,
 but

A. D. but entered into a new Confederacy with a
 1510. Clause that left Room for the Pope to ac-
 cede to it within two Months, and the
 New Con- Kings of *Aragon* and *Hungary* within four.
 vention
 between The King of *France* obliged himself to pay
Cæsar and to *Cæsar* a Sum of Money (which was a
 the King necessary Foundation for establishing an
 of *France*. Agreement with that Prince) amounting
 to Ten Thousand Ducats, Part in Hand,
 Part at Times. *Cæsar* engaged to pass in-
 to *Italy* next Spring with Three Thousand
 Horse, and Ten Thousand Foot, against
 the *Venetians*, in which Case the King was
 to furnish him, at his own Expence, with
 Twelve Hundred Lances and Eight Thou-
 sand Foot, and a sufficient Train of Ar-
 tillery; and by Sea with two light Gallies,
 and four other Vessels called Bastardi:
 They were to act conformably to the Con-
 federacy of *Cambray*, and jointly to solicit
 the Observation of the same by the Pope
 and the Catholic King. And if the Pope
 should make a Difficulty of doing it on
 account of the Affair of *Ferrara*, the King
 should be bound to rest satisfied with what
 should be thought reasonable. But if the
 Pontiff refused their Request, the Affair
 of

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of the Council was to be prosecuted, for A. D.
 which Purpose *Cæsar* was to assemble the 1510.
 Prelates of *Germany*, as the King of *France*
 had assembled those of his own Kingdom,
 in order to proceed according to the Ad-
 vice of these Assemblies *.

THE Articles of the new Convention
 being published, *Goritz*, loaded with Ho-
 nours and Presents, returned to his Prince.
 And the King of *France*, who had lately
 entered into an Agreement with the five
 Cardinals that had the Management of
 the Council, that neither Party should,
 without the other's Consent, come to an
 Accommodation with the Pope, signified,
 by his Speeches, his eager Desire of pas-
 sing into *Italy* in Person with such a Force
 as would for a long Time be sufficient to
 secure his Possessions in that Country. To
 support, however, for the present, the de-
 clining State of his Affairs, he gave strict
 Orders to *Chaumont* not to suffer the Duke
 of

* *Mocenigo* speaks of other Negotiations previous to
 the Council, in which it was proposed by the discontented
 Cardinals that *Cyprus*, *Candia*, *Corfu* and *Venice* should
 be given to the King of *Spain*: *Vicenza*, *Trevigi*, the
 Province of *Friuli*, and *Padoua* to *Cæsar*; and *Lucca*,
Siena, *Florence* and *Mantoua* to the King of *France*.

A. D. of *Ferrara* to be ruined ; on which that
 1510. General sent the Duke a further Reinforce-
 ment of Eight Hundred *German* Foot, to
 be added to the Two Hundred Lances
 which were there before under *Chatillon*.

Motions
 of the
 Pope's
 Army.

ON the other Side, the Ecclesiastic
 Army, after making, though slowly, the
 necessary Provisions, and leaving in *Mo-*
dena a Garrison of an Hundred Men at
 Arms, Four Hundred light Horse, and
 Twenty-five Hundred Foot, under *Marc'*
Antonio Colonna, went and laid Siege to
Concordia ; the Town was taken by Storm
 on the same Day that the Artillery was
 planted against it, and the Castle afterwards
 capitulated ; the Army then proceeded,
 and sat down before *Mirandola*. It was
 towards the End of *December*, and the
 Season was more severe than usual ; for
 which Reason, and because the Town was
 strong, and it was not to be supposed that
 the *French* would sit still, and suffer a
 Place of such Importance and Conveniency
 to be lost, the Generals more than the rest
 doubted whether they should be able to
 take it. The Pope, however, had so confi-
 dently

dently assured himself of a happy Issue of the War, that when, on account of the Disagreement between the Duke of *Urbino* and the Cardinal of *Pavia*, he sent a new Legate, the Cardinal of *Sinigaglia*, to his Army, he charged him in public to take Care above all things that when the Army entered *Ferrara*, that City might, as much as possible, be preserved. On the fourth Day after the Army came before *Mirandola* the Batteries were in readiness, and began to play; but the Besiegers laboured under many Inconveniencies from the Season, and for Want of Provisions, which came but sparingly from the *Modenese*, for the *French* had thrown Fifty Lances into *Guaftalla*, as many into *Coreggio*, and Two Hundred and Fifty into *Carpi*; and by breaking down all the Bridges, and seizing all the Passes, had rendered it impossible to receive any Supplies by the other Way out of the *Mantouan*. But this Scarcity was on a sudden in some measure relieved; for the *French* in *Carpi*, on a false Alarm that the Enemy's Army was in full March to attack them, being terrified

because

A. D. because they had no Artillery, precipi-
 1510. tately abandoned the Place.

Pope dis-
 satisfied
 with the
*Floren-
 tines.*

AT the End of this Year the Pontiff suffered some Blemish in his personal Character; it was reported that, with his Privy and Consent, by means of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, a Plot was carried on by *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, and some young Men of *Florence* for assassinating *Piero Soderini* the Gonfalonier, by whose Influence, it was supposed, the *Florentines* were confirmed in the *French* Interest. For the Pope had tried all the Arts of Persuasion to induce that Republic to join in his Measures, but had not succeeded; on the contrary, was so far from it, that the *Florentines* had not long before, at the Request of the King of *France*, given Warning for breaking the Truce with the *Senese*, to the great Mortification of the Pope; and though his Majesty, who only wanted to frighten the *Senese*, desired the *Florentines* not to commence Hostilities till six Months after the Time of the Warning should be expired, they would not agree to that Part of his Request: They had moreover sent the King Two Hundred Men at Arms to protect

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fect the Dutchy of *Milan*, which His Ma-
 jesty demanded of them in consequence of
 their Confederacy, not so much for the
 Importance of such an Assistance, as with
 a View to embroil them with the Pope.
 And such was the State of the public Af-
 fairs in the End of the Year 1510.

THE Beginning of the new Year was
 signalized by a most memorable Incident,
 unexpected, and unknown to all past Ages.
 For the Pope imagining that the Siege
 of *Mirandola* proceeded but slowly, and
 ascribing the same partly to the Unskilful-
 ness, partly to the Perfidy of his Officers,
 and especially of his Nephew, though it
 proceeded in a greater measure from the
 Multitude of Difficulties, took a Reso-
 lution to hasten it by his own Presence.
 So much did he prefer the Gratification of
 his violent and unruly Passions before all
 other Regards, that he was not to be re-
 strained by considering with himself how
 unbecoming it must be, and how un-
 worthy of the Majesty of so exalted a
 Station, for a *Roman* Pontiff to go in Per-
 son with Armies against Christian Towns;

A. D.
 1510.

1511

Pertina-
 cious Hu-
 mour of
 the Pope.

A. D. and the dangerous Consequence of disre-

1511.

garding Fame, and despising the Judgment which all the World would be ready to pass upon him, by furnishing his Enemies with colourable Reasons, and in a manner justifying those who, principally under a Pretence that his Government was pernicious to the Church, and that he was guilty of scandalous and incorrigible Abuses, were labouring to procure a Council, and to stir up the Princes against him. This was the common Talk of the whole Court, every one was surpris'd, all highly blamed him, and the *Venetian* Ambassadors no less than the rest: the Cardinals also supplicated him, with the greatest Earnestness, not to go. But no Intreaties nor Persuasions could prevail with him to alter his Resolution.

ON the second of *January* the Pope set out from *Bologna*, attended by three Cardinals, and arriving in the Camp, took up his Quarters in the House of a Peasant, exposed to the Fire of the Enemy's Artillery, being not above two ordinary Bow-shots from the Walls of *Mirandola*. In this Station

Siege of
Miran-
dola.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 147

Station he was continually fatiguing himself, and exercising his Body no less than his Mind and Authority, almost perpetually on Horseback, riding now here and now there, about the Lines, and pushing forwards the Completion of the Batteries, which, as well as all the other military Operations, had been hitherto greatly retarded by the extreme Rigour of the Season, and by the Snows that fell almost without Intermision, as well as by the Desertion of the Pioneers, which no Care was able to prevent, for, besides their Sufferings on account of the Severity of the Weather, they were greatly annoyed by the Cannon of the Place. It was therefore necessary to cast up new Works for covering the Men employed on the Batteries, and to procure a fresh Recruit of Pioneers. While these Preparations were making, *Julius*, finding the Inconveniencies of the Camp at that Season, retired to *Concordia*, where he was addressed by *Alberto Pio* deputed from *Chaumont* with Propositions on various Plans for an Accommodation. But though *Alberto* took the Pains to go to and fro several times

A. D.

1511.

Peace negotiated in vain.

A. D. 1511. between the Parties, nothing was effected, either through the Pope's usual obstinacy, or because *Alberto*, as with reason was suspected, did not act in the Negotiation with due Sincerity.

THE Pope staid but a few Days at *Concordia*, but hurried back to the Army, with the same Impatience, and an Ardor not to be cooled by the heavy Snow which fell all the Way, nor the severe Frost, hardly supportable by the Soldiery. He now took his Lodging in a little Church, near his Artillery, and nearer the Walls of the Town than his first Quarters were. And as he was dissatisfied with all that had been done, or was now doing, he broke out into most vehement Complaints against his Officers, except *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, whom he had newly ordered thither from *Modena*. In the same violent Manner he hurried himself among the Troops, now crying out upon some for not doing their Duty, then animating and encouraging others, and, in short, performing both in Words and Deeds the Office of General. And to stimulate the Soldiers to behave manfully,

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A. D.

1511.

manfully, he promised to agree to no Capitulation, but to leave the Town entirely to be plundered at their Discretion. It was certainly a remarkable Case, and a Sight very uncommon in the Eye of the World, to see a King of *France*, a secular Prince, of an Age not yet past its Vigour, and at that time in a good State of Health, trained up from his Youth in the Exercise of Arms, at present taking his Repose in his Apartment, and leaving to his Generals the Administration of a War undertaken principally against himself; and, on the other Side, to behold the High Priest, the Vicar of Christ on Earth, old and infirm, and educated in Ease and Pleasures, now employed in Person in managing a War excited by himself against Christians, and at the Siege of a paultry Town, exposing himself to all the Fatigues and Dangers of a Commander of Armies, and retaining nothing of the Pontiff but the Name and the Habit.

Parallel
between
the Con-
duct of
the Pope
and of the
King of
France.

JULIUS, by his extreme Sollicitude, his Complaints, his Promises and his Threatenings, prevailed so effectually, that

A. D.

1511.

the Siege of *Mirandola* was carried on with greater Expedition than it would otherwise have been. The Progress, however, of the Besiegers was retarded by many Difficulties, which proceeded from the small Number of Pioneers, and because the Army was not provided with many Pieces of Artillery, of which those of the *Venetians* were not very large, and the Dampness of the Weather in some measure obstructed the Effects of the Gunpowder. The Garrison, consisting of about Four Hundred foreign Foot, commanded by *Alessandro da Trivulzio*, made a brave Defence, and they were encouraged to make a bolder Resistance from Hopes of Relief, which had been promised by *Chaumont* *. That General, having received the King's Orders not to let *Mirandola* fall into the Hands of the Pope, had sent for the *Spanish* Foot that were in *Verona*, assembled his Troops from all Quarters, was continually lifting Men, and caused the Duke of

* *Mirandola* was defended by the Widow of *Lodovico* Count of *Mirandola*, who had been dead eight Months. She was Daughter to *Gianjacopo da Trivulzio*, and *Alessandro*, the Commander of the Garrison, was his Cousin-German.

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of *Ferrara* to do the same, promising to attack, before the 20th of *January* was passed, the Enemy in their Camp. But many Circumstances concurred to render the Execution of this Enterprize both difficult and dangerous; as, the Shortness of the Time for getting together the necessary Provisions, the Leisure given the Enemy to fortify their Camp, and the Fatigue of conducting the Artillery, Ammunition, and Provisions, in so cold a Season, through very bad Roads, and the deepest Snows that had fallen for many Years. And the Difficulties were augmented by the General, who ought to have made Amends, by his Expeditionousness, for his lost Time. For though *Chaumont* had all on a sudden set out Post for *Milan*, under Pretence of a more than ordinary Sollicitude to make Provision of Money and other Necessaries, it was reported and credited that he was gone thither in Pursuit of an amorous Intrigue with a *Milanese* Lady. His Absence, though he speedily returned, had greatly depressed the Spirits of his Soldiers, and the Hopes of those who defended *Mirandola*; whence many did

A. D.

1511.

not scruple to affirm, that the Hatred which *Chaumont* had conceived against *Gianjacopo da Trivulzio* had as pernicious Effects as his Negligence and Cowardice, and that; preferring the Gratification of his own Passions to the King's Interest, he was pleased with beholding the Grandchildren of *Trivulzio* deprived of their State. On the other part the Pontiff spared no Pains nor Cost to obtain his Ends, and his Rage was increased by the Death of two Persons in his Kitchen, who were killed by a Cannon Ball from the Town, which obliged him to remove his Quarters; and, though he could not refrain from returning thither the next Day, he was constrained by new Dangers to retire to the Apartments of Cardinal *Regino*, which, by Chance, coming to the Knowledge of the Besieged, they pointed a large Piece of Cannon against that Place, which put him in Danger of his Life. At last the Defendants, having entirely lost all Hopes of Relief, the Cannon of the Enemy having done mighty Execution, and besides the Waters of the Ditch being so deeply frozen as to bear the Soldiers, they feared that they

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they should not be able to resist the first Assault, which was preparing to be given within two Days; and therefore, on the same Day that *Chaumont* had promised to be with them, sent out Deputies to the Pope, with an Offer of Surrender on condition that they might be secured in their Lives and Effects. The Pope at first answered that he would not be obliged to save the Lives of the Soldiers, but at length, being overcome by the Intreaties of all his Attendants, he accepted of the Conditions proposed, except that *Alessandro da Trivulzio*, with some Officers of Foot, should remain his Prisoners; and that the Town, to redeem itself from being plundered, as had been promised the Soldiers, should pay a certain Sum of Money*; but the Troops reckoning the Pillage of the Place as their just Due, because it had been promised them, the Pope was at no small Pains to prevent them from sacking it. He caused himself to be mounted upon the Walls, because the Gates were beaten down, and from thence descended into the Town. The Castle surrendered at the same time, and

A. D.
1511.

Mirandola
surrendered.

* Sixty Pound of Gold. *Bembo.*

A. D. and the Countess had Leave to retire with
 1511. her Effects. The Pope restored *Mirandola* to Count *Giovanfrancesco**, and made over to him all the Right and Title of the Sons of *Lodovico*, as acquired by himself in a just War, receiving of him a Bond, and for Security of its Performance the Person of his Son, for the Payment of Twenty Thousand Ducats, within a certain Time, to recompense him for his Charges. For the Security of the Town, that the *French* might not seize upon it after the Army was gone, he left a Garri- son of Five Hundred *Spanish* and Three Hundred *Italian* Foot. From *Mirandola* the Army marched to *Sermidi*, a Castle in the *Mantouan*, situated on the *Po*, the Pon- tiff being big with Expectations of ac- quiring *Ferrara* without Delay; for on the same Day that he took Possession of *Mi- randola*, he very resolutely answered *Al- berto Pio* that he would no more hearken to any Negotiations of Agreement, if, be- fore he treated on any other Article of Peace, he were not first put in Possession of *Ferrara*.

THE

* Because his Father had left it to him by Will. *Bembo*.

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THE Pontiff was, however, obliged to alter his Measures on a new Resolution taken by the *French*. For the King, considering how the Reputation of his Arms was diminished by the Loss of *Mirandola*, and despairing of ever inducing the Pope to come voluntarily into any equitable Conditions of Peace, ordered *Chaumont* not only to attend to the Defence of *Ferrara*, but not to abstain also, if a fair Opportunity presented, from carrying his Arms into the Dominions of the Church. *Chaumont*, in obedience to these Commands, assembled his Troops from every Quarter, and the Pope, by Advice of his Generals, retired to *Bologna*, either out of Fear, or to hasten, as it was said, from a nearer Place, the Siege of Fort *Genivolo*. On this Attempt he designed to send some of the Troops which he had in *Romagna*, and went himself to *Lugos*, from whence he proceeded at last to *Ravenna*, not thinking perhaps that so petty an Enterprize required his Presence*. The Forces of the *Venetians*,

* In *Bologna* the Pope labouring under the Burden of Old Age, and the Fatigues he had undergone in that dismal Station at *Mirandola*, was seized with a Fever and some old Infirmities. *Giovio*.

A. D. *tians*, not thinking fit to attack *Ferrara* in
 1511. the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had
 posted themselves at *Bondino*; and the Ecclesiastic Troops with the *Spaniards*, who
 at the Pope's Intreaties continued in his Service beyond the Term of three Months,
 which was expired, encamped between
Cento and *Finale*.

Opinions
 of the
French
 Generals.

ON the other side *Chaumont*, having assembled his Forces, found himself superior to the Enemy in Foot, and superior also in the Goodness but not in the Number of his Horse. On holding a Council of War the *French* Generals advised him to join his Army with the Troops of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and then to go in quest of the Enemies. And there was Room to hope that, though they were strongly and advantageously posted, by the Valour of his Men, and by the Force of the Artillery, they would be constrained to retire; and, in consequence, not only the City of *Ferrara* would be freed from all Danger, but the Arms of the King would intirely recover their lost Reputation to that very Day. It was besides urged,

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urged, in favour of this Opinion, that A. D. 1511.
 the General, in passing with his Army through the *Mantouan*, would deprive the Marquis of Excuses, and remove those Impediments, which, as he pretended, prevented him from appearing in Arms, as a Feudatory of *Cæsar*, and in the Pay of the King: And that his Declaration would be very conducive to the Security of *Ferrara*, and of great Disservice to the Enemy in the War, since the Forces of the *Venetians* would by this means be deprived of no small Conveniencies, in furnishing themselves with Provisions, and in the Command of Bridges and Passes of Rivers; and, besides, the Marquis would immediately recall his Troops that were in the Army of the Church.

BUT *Trivulzio*, who was returned from *France* on the same Day that *Mirandola* was lost, was of a different Opinion, demonstrating the Danger of attacking an Enemy in his strong Entrenchments, and the pernicious Consequence of subjecting themselves to a Necessity of proceeding Day after Day according to his Motions.

A. D.

1511.

Motions. It would be of more Service therefore, as well as more secure, to move with the Army towards *Modena*, or towards *Bologna*; because if the Enemy, out of an Apprehension of losing either of these Cities, should make a Motion in order to prevent them, they would obtain their End by diverting the War from *Ferrara*. If the Enemy should not think fit to move, they might with Ease make themselves Masters of one or other of the Cities; and, in case of Success, the Pope would find himself under a greater Necessity of leaving his strong Camp, in order to defend his own Dominions; and, when he was once got out of his Entrenchments, he might perhaps give them an Opportunity to obtain a glorious Victory over him.

First
Counsel
followed.

SUCH were the Sentiments of *Trivulzio*; but the Inclinations of *Chaumont* and of the other *French* Generals outweighing his Authority, the other Advice was approved, being also enforced with the greatest Sollicitude by *Alfonso d'Este*; for he was in hopes that his Enemies would
by

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by this means be forced to abandon his Dominions, which, he said, were distressed and exhausted to such a Degree, that it was impossible for them to sustain any longer so great a Burden. He was therefore afraid that if the *French* should remove to a considerable Distance, the Enemy would enter the Polesine of *Ferrara*, whence the Distresses of that City, which would in that case be deprived of all that Comfort which remained, would be aggravated beyond Remedy.

THE *French* Army then took the Road of *Lucera*, and passing by *Gonzaga*, encamped at *Razzuolo* and *Moia*, where they rested three Days on account of the Severity of the Weather, rejecting the Advice of those who proposed to attack *Mirandola*, because it was impossible to lodge in the open Field, and at the Departure of the Pope all the Villages and Houses about that Place had been burnt. Nor did they think fit to make an Attempt upon *Concordia*, which was five Miles distant, being unwilling to lose Time about an Enterprize of so small Importance.

They

Motions
of the
French
Army.

A. D.

1511.

They proceeded therefore to *Quistelli*, and passing the *Secchia* on a Bridge of Boats; encamped the next Day at *Rovere* on the *Po*. On the Advice of this March *Andrea Gritti*, who had recovered the Polefine of *Rovigo*, and, after leaving Part of the *Venetian* Troops under *Bernardino da Montone* at *Montagnana*, to make Head against the Garrison of *Verona*, was come with Three Hundred Men at Arms, One Thousand light Horse, and One Thousand Foot, to the River *Po*, in order to proceed and join the Army of the Church, retired to *Montagnana*, having first plundered the Town of *Guastalla*. From *Rovere* the *French* proceeded to *Sermidi*, extending themselves, but under good Discipline, into the circumjacent Villages. While they lay here encamped *Cbaumont*, with some of his Officers, but without *Trivulzio*, made a Step to the Town of *Stellata*, in which Place he expected *Alfonso d' Este*, in order to consult and resolve in what Manner they were to proceed against the Enemy, who were all got together in their Quarters at *Finale*. It was there resolved that *Alfonso* should join

join his Forces with the *French* about *Bondino*, and, thus united, take up their Quarters in certain Villages three Miles distant from *Finale*, their future Proceedings to be regulated according to the Nature of the Places, and the Motions of the Enemy. But as soon as *Chaumont* was returned to *Sermidi*, he was informed that it was very difficult to conduct an Army to these Quarters, because of the Waters of which the Country about *Finale* was full; and that there was no going thither but by the Road and along the Banks of a Canal, which the Enemy had taken Care to cut in many Places, and had also posted Guards to prevent the Passage; which, together with the Inclemency of the Season, rendered the Undertaking very dangerous. *Chaumont* being startled at these Difficulties; *Alfonso*, who was attended by some Engineers, and Men acquainted with the Country, endeavoured to lessen them, by shewing the Situation and Disposition of the Places, affirming that, by the Force of his Cannon, he would constrain those who guarded the cut Passes to abandon them, after which

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A. D. 1511. it would be very easy to throw over Bridges, where it was necessary for a Passage. The General having referred the Case to be argued and disputed in a Council, the Proposition of *Alfonso* was approved, *Trivulzio* rather not opposing than consenting to it; and perhaps his Taciturnity had a greater Effect upon the Council than his Contradiction would have gained, for it set them on considering the Case more nearly, when it appeared that the Difficulties were greater; and it was of no small Weight with them, that this old and long experienced General had always condemned this March. *Chaumont* also fearing that, if any Misfortune should happen, the King would charge him as the Author of it, in Contradiction to the Opinion of so wise a Captain, adjourned the Council to the Day following, when he earnestly intreated *Trivulzio* to express his Opinion, not with Silence, as he had done the Day before, but in plain and open Words. That Commander being moved by his Instances, and much more by the Importance of the Point in Debate,

stood

stood up, and, all listening to him with A. D.
the greatest Attention, spoke thus: 1511.

“ I held my Peace yesterday because I have found, by frequent Experience, that little Regard has been paid to my Advice, which, if followed at first, would have prevented our Coming to this Place, and spending, to no Purpose, so many Days, which might have been employed to good Advantage. And, indeed, I should be to-day in the same Sentiment of keeping Silence, if the Importance of the Cause did not urge me to speak; for we are just on the Brink of venturing, as I may say, on one very uncertain Chance of a Die, this Army, the State of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Dutchy of *Milan*; a Stake too great to hazard all at once, without reserving something for another Cast. And I am farther invited, because, if I guess right, *Chaumont* desires that I should be the first to advise him to what he is already inclined in his own Mind; a Thing not new to me, for I have at other times known my Counsels less despised when the Question was about re-

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not too maturely resolved, than when the first Resolutions were taken. We debate about marching to fight the Enemy: I have always known it an inviolable Maxim of great Captains, and have learnt it also by my own Experience, never to try the Fortune of a Battle, unless invited by some great Advantage, or forced by some urgent Necessity. Besides, according to the Rules of War, it belongs to our Enemies, who are the Aggressors, by putting themselves in Motion with a Design to make a Conquest of *Ferrara*, to seek all Occasions to come to a Battle; and no way to us, to whom it is sufficient to stand upon the Defensive without putting ourselves to Trouble, contrary to all Military Discipline, to find out and attack them. But let us see what Advantage or Necessity there may be to induce us. To me it appears, and, if I am not wholly mistaken, is evident to a Demonstration, that what the Duke of *Ferrara* has proposed cannot be attempted without very great Disadvantage, since there is no Passage to the Quarters designed, but along the Declivity of a Bank, by a narrow

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narrow and very bad Road, where all our Forces cannot extend themselves, and where the Enemy can with a small Number resist a much greater. We must be under a Necessity of marching along a Bank Horse after Horse; we must convey our Cannon, Waggon, Carts and Pontons by the narrow Passage of this Bank. And who knows not that, in a narrow and bad Road, every Piece of Cannon, every Waggon that founders, will stop the whole Army for an Hour at least; and that when we are encumbered with so many Inconveniencies every cross Accident may easily put us into Disorder? The Enemies lodge under Covert, and are provided with Food and Forrage; we must almost all of us take up our Lodging in the open Air, and it will be necessary that Forrage should be brought after us, nor can we, without the greatest Fatigue, be furnished with half of what we shall want. We are not to refer ourselves to the Reports of Engineers, or of Peasants acquainted with the Country; for Wars are managed by the Weapons of Soldiers, under the Directions of Generals, by fighting in the open Field, not by Plans

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drawn by Men ignorant of War on Paper, or traced out with the Finger or Stick in the Dust. For my Part, I cannot imagine that the Enemies are so weak, or their Affairs in such Disorder, or that, in their encamping and fortifying themselves, they so little knew how to make their Advantage of the Waters and Situation, that I can promise myself, that as soon as we are arrived in our designed Quarters, supposing that we could readily convey ourselves thither, we shall have it in our Power to attack them. Many Difficulties may intervene to supersede our Attempt for two or three Days; and, if there be no other Difficulty, the Snows and the Rains in this unfavourable and inconstant Season will restrain us. But in what a Condition shall we be in respect to Provisions and Forrage, if it should happen that we must stay there? And, even supposing that we should have it in our Power to attack them, who is he that can promise himself so easy a Victory? Where is the Man that considers not how dangerous it is to go in Quest of Enemies encamped in a strong Place, and at the same time to have to deal with them and
with

with the Disadvantages of the Situation of ^{A. D.} the Country? If we do not compel them ^{1511.} speedily to quit their Camp, we shall be forced to retire ourselves; and how difficult must that be through a Country where all the People are against us, and where every little Disaster will greatly increase our Misfortunes! I see less Necessity for so precipitately endangering the whole State of the King, since we have put ourselves in Motion principally for no other Cause than to succour the City of *Ferrara*, into which if we put a Reinforcement, we need not doubt of its Security, even tho' we should disband the Army. If it be said, that the Place is so exhausted, that, the Enemy's Army continuing to straiten it, it is impossible but that, in a short time, it must fall of itself; have we not in our Hands the Remedy of Diversion, a very powerful Remedy in Wars, by which, without endangering so much as a Horse, we can compel the Enemy to retire from *Ferrara*, and leave the City at Liberty? I have always advised, and now more than ever advise, that we turn our March either towards *Modena* or *Bologna*, taking the

A. D. broad Way, and leaving *Ferrara* well provided for a few Days, for a longer Time will not be necessary. I am rather now for going to *Modena*, to which we are incited by the Cardinal *d' Este*, who has assured us that he has a Correspondence in the Place, and that it would prove a very easy Acquisition. After a Conquest so important the Enemies will be constrained immediately to retire towards *Bologna*. And even though we should not take *Modena*, the Fear of it, and a Sollicitude for the Safety of *Bologna*, will force them to do the same, as they would undoubtedly have done many Days ago, if at first this Advice had been followed."

EVERY one now could discern, from the efficacious Reasons of *Trivulzio*, the Difficulties presented before his Eyes, which that General had discerned himself when they were yet at a Distance. His Opinion therefore was approved by all, and *Chaumont*, leaving with the Duke of *Ferrara* a greater Number of Troops for his Security, marched back with his Army by the same Road towards *Carpi*, not having

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having as yet prevailed with the Marquis of *Mantoua* to declare himself; which was one of the principal Reasons alledged by those who gave Counsel against the Opinion of *Trivulzio*. The Marquis, desiring to keep himself neuter in this turbulent Juncture, when the Time was approaching in which he had given Expectations of declaring himself, alledged various Excuses, that he might be permitted to defer it for some Days. To the Pope he represented the imminent Danger that hung over his Head from the *French* Army; and he begged *Chaumont* not to defeat his Hopes that the Pope would, in a very short Time, restore him his Son.

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Marquis
of *Man-
tous* em-
barrassed.

THE Design against *Modena* did not, however, take Effect, being obstructed more by the Policy and secret Counsels of the King of *Aragon* than by the Arms of the Pope. *Cæsar* had taken Offence at the Pontiff's seizing on *Modena*, a City that for a great Length of Time was reputed within the Jurisdiction of the Empire, and had been for a great Number of Years in Possession of the Family of *Este* by the Privileges

A. D. Privileges and Investiture of the Emperors.

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And though *Cæsar* had made Instances, with many Complaints, to have it put into his Possession, yet the Pope, whether he had, or pretended to have, different Sentiments concerning the Right and Property of that City, was at first averse to his Request, especially while he was in Hopes of easily making himself Master of *Ferrara*. But now since the *French* Arms were openly employed in favour of the House of *Este*, being sensible that he could not keep *Modena* without a great Expence, he began to relish the Counsel of the King of *Aragon*, who advised him to consent, in order to avoid so many Troubles, to mitigate the Spirit of *Cæsar*, and for laying a Foundation for a Misunderstanding between that Prince and the King of *France*; especially considering that, if he should desire to have it again at a more proper Juncture, he might still obtain it of *Cæsar* for a moderate Sum of Money. This Affair was many Days under Debate, the Pope's Resolutions varying according to his Hopes; but there was one Difficulty that could not be removed,
which

which was, that *Cæsar* would not receive the Offer, if in the Deed of Assignment it were not clearly expressed that the City of *Modena* was a Fief of the Empire. The Pontiff shewed great Reluctancy against consenting to this ; but when he saw that, soon after he was in Possession of *Mirandola*, *Chaumont* had taken the Field with a potent Army, and that the same Difficulties and Charge for the Defence of *Modena* returned upon him, he put an End to all further Disputes, and consented that, in the Instrument of Assignment, it should be expressly said, that *Modena* was restored to *Cæsar*, to whose Jurisdiction it did properly belong*. As soon as *Vitfrust*, *Cæsar's* Ambassador, residing with the Pope, had taken Possession of the Place, persuading himself that the Authority of *Cæsar* was a sufficient Security to preserve it, he dismissed *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, with the Troops that were in Garrison under the Name of the Church, and signified to

Chaumont

* Pope *Julius* restored *Modena* to the Emperor with a Design to induce him, by this Example, to demand *Reggio* of the *French*, and, in case of Refusal, to renounce their Friendship, and to enter into an Alliance with himself. *Bembo*.

A. D. *Chaumont* that *Modena* no longer belonged

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to the Pope, but was rightfully returned under the Dominion of *Cæsar*. *Chaumont* would not believe that this was true, and therefore urged the Cardinal of *Este* to put in Execution the Plot which, he said, he had formed in that City. The Cardinal accordingly ordered the Troops that *Chaumont* had left in Garrison at *Rubiera* to approach one Night as silently as possible within a Mile of *Modena*; but those within, either on account of some intervening Difficulty, or because the *French* came before the Time, not answering the appointed Signs, the Soldiers returned the same Night to *Rubiera*; from whence they marched out again another Night with a Design to approach *Modena*, but were prevented by the Swelling and Violence of the Waters from passing the River *Secchia*, which runs before *Rubiera*. These Attempts giving Suspicion to *Vitfrust*, he imprisoned some *Modenese* who were accused of intriguing with the Cardinal d' *Este*, and obtained of the Pope the Return of *Marc' Antonio Colonna* with the same Garrison. This, however, would not have prevented *Chaumont*,

French
fail to
retake *Mo-*
dena.

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Chaumont, who was already advanced to *Carpi*, from laying Siege to *Modena*, if the Quality of the Season had not obstructed the drawing of his heavy Cannon along the Way between *Ruolo* and *Carpi*, which is not above ten Miles, but the worst of all the Roads in *Lombardy*, which in Winter being overflown with Water, and deep in Mud, are, in general, very bad Besides this, *Chaumont* was every Day more and more assured that *Modena* was actually made over to *Cæsar*, for which Reason he agreed with *Vitfrust* not to molest *Modena* nor its Territory, *Vitfrust* engaging on his Part to observe an exact Neutrality in the warlike Proceedings between the Pope and the Most Christian King.

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Chaumont a few Days after was seized with a violent Disorder, and being carried to *Corregio* died after fifteen Days Illness, having before his Death declared, with great Marks of Devotion, that he was heartily sorry for his Offences committed against the Church, and supplicated the Pope, by a public Instrument, to grant him Absolution, which was obtained while

Death and
Character
of *Chau-
mont*.

A. D. while he was yet alive, but could not
 1511. come to his Knowledge before his Death*.

He was an Officer of great Authority in *Italy*, for, through the prevailing Interest of the Cardinal of *Rouen*, he administer'd the Dutchy of *Milan*, and commanded the King's Armies in almost a despotic Manner. But his Abilities were much inferior to his great Employments; for, when he was constituted in the high Station of Captain General, he neither knew the Arts of War himself, nor trusted to those who understood them. Hence, after the Death of his Uncle, his Insufficiency being no longer supported by Favour, he was in a manner despised by the Soldiers, to whom, because they should not make an ill Report of him to the King, he gave Indulgence in all Sorts of Licentiousness, and to such a Degree that *Trivulzio*, a General trained up in the antient Discipline, often declared, with

* *Charles d' Ambois*, alias *Chasmont*, was highly blamed for not relieving *Mirandola*, and for not recovering *Modena* for *Alfonso*, whence he fell into Disgrace with the King, who regarded him as a Person deficient in Courage and Resolution. His Sense of the King's Displeasure, and of the Censures past upon his Conduct, sat so heavy upon his Spirits, that he died of a broken Heart. *Bembo*.

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with an Oath, that he would go no more A. D.
 into the *French* Armies, unless the King 1511.
 were there in Person, or that he himself
 had the Command in chief. The King,
 however, had designed to send, as Successor
 to *Chaumont* before his Death, Monsieur
Longueville, a Bastard, of the royal Blood,
 who was not so much honoured and
 esteemed for his Valour, or Skill in the
 Art of War, as for his Birth and Riches.

By the Death of *Chaumont* the Command of the Army, according to the established Customs of *France*, till the King had made a new Appointment, devolved on *Gianjacopo Trivulzio*, one of the four Marshals of that Kingdom, who, not knowing how long he should continue in his Place, durst not attempt any thing of Moment. He returned, however, with the Army to *Sermidi*, with a Design to march to the Relief of the Fort of *Genivolo*, which the Pope had distressed with the Troops that he had in *Romagna*, and had procured also the *Venetian* Fleet, consisting of thirteen light Gallies and a great Number of smaller Vessels, to approach

A. D. proach the Fort. But it was needless for

^{1511.} *Trivulzio* to proceed any farther; for while the Pope's Troops lay about the Place in a careless Posture, and under little Obedience or Discipline, they were all on a sudden attacked by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Chatillon* with the *French* Troops, who, with a Body of Forces superior to those of the Enemy, marched out of *Ferrara*, the Horse proceeding along the Bank of the *Po*, while the Foot embarked, and with the Stream arrived at the River *Santurno*, over which laying a Bridge that they had brought with them; they were in a Moment on the Back of the Enemy; who being in Disorder made no manner of Resistance, except Three Hundred *Spanish* Foot posted to guard the Artillery, but betook themselves to Flight. *Guido Vaina*, *Brunoro da Forli*, and *Meleagro* his Brother, Officers of Horse, with Difficulty saved themselves, but the Colours and Artillery were lost; the *Venetian* Fleet gave no Assistance, but to avoid the Danger weighed Anchor and dispersed themselves on the *Po*.

Duke of
Ferrara
victorious

THUS various were the Operations of War, without affording as yet any Foundation

dation for passing a Judgment on the final
 Issue; and no less different and uncertain
 were the Designs of the Princes, especially
 of *Cæsar*, who unexpectedly resolved to
 send the Bishop of *Goritz* to *Trent* to ne-
 gotiate a Peace. This Bishop was em-
 ployed, as we said before, in establishing
 an Agreement between the King of *France*
 and *Cæsar* for carrying on the War against
 the *Venetians* with a mighty Force next
 Spring; and, if the Pope should not ob-
 serve the League of *Cambrai*, to convoke
 a Council. *Cæsar*, being much intent on
 this last Project, had summoned together
 the Prelates of his hereditary States to con-
 sult in what Manner, and at what Place
 this Council was to be held. But as he
 was naturally fickle and inconstant, and
 an Enemy to the Name of the *French*, he
 began afterwards to hearken to the Advice
 of the King of *Aragon*. That Prince re-
 flecting that the Union between *Cæsar* and
 the *French* King, and the Depression of
 the *Venetians* by their joint Forces, to-
 gether with the Downfall of the Pope by
 means of a Council, would increase the
 Power of the King of *France* to an exorbi-

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Advice of
 the King
 of *Aragon*.

A. D. tant Degrée, had endeavoured to persuade

1511. *Cæsar* that an universal Peace was more for his Purpose, provided he could by that Means obtain the whole or the greater Part of what the *Venetians* had usurped from him. He advised him therefore to send to *Mantoua* some Person of known Abilities with full Powers, and to use his Interest that the King of *France* might make the same Step, as he had determined to do himself; whence the Pope could not refuse to concur in the same Measure, and act in conformity to the Will of so many Princes, on whose Resolutions depended those of the *Venetians*, who, to avoid being abandoned and left to themselves, would be under a Necessity to follow their Authority. There was good Reason to hope, he said, that *Cæsar*, without Difficulty, without Arms, without increasing the Power or Reputation of the King of *France*, would, to his infinite Praise, together with an universal Peace, recover his State. And even supposing that, contrary to all Expectation, he should not succeed, he would still be at Liberty to take the Field at the Time appointed, and with the same Advantages.

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Advantages. Moreover, as he was the Head of all the Christian Princes, and the Advocate of the Church, it would tend much to his Justification, and exalt his Glory to a high Degree, if, by following this Advice, he made it manifest to all the World that his chief Desire was Peace and Union among Christians, and that it was the Obstinacy and Perverseness of those who would not hearken to good Counsel that constrained him to take up Arms.

THESE Reasons were convincing to *Cæsar*, and therefore he wrote Letters at the same time to the Pontiff, and to the King of *France*. He signified to the Pontiff that he had resolved to send the Bishop of *Goritz* into *Italy*, because he had determined to procure, as much as in him lay, the Tranquillity of the Apostolic See, and the Peace of Christendom, as it was becoming a religious Prince, who was, by the Imperial Dignity, the Advocate of the Church, and the Head of all the Christian Princes. He admonished his Holiness to act in Conformity with him, as it was the Duty of the true Vicar of *Christ*, that so,

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Cæsar's
Letter to
the Pope.

A. D. 1511. by duly performing the Office of a Pontiff, he might not constrain the Princes to think on Remedies necessary for the Quiet of Christians. He did not approve of his Holiness's seeking for Reasons to deprive the absent Cardinals of the Dignity of the Cardinalship, because they did not absent themselves out of Malignity, or Hatred against his Holiness, and therefore deserved no such Punishment; and, besides, the Deprivation of a Cardinal did not belong to the Pope alone. He put the Pontiff also in mind that it was a very unworthy Act, and of no Benefit, in so troublesome a Juncture, to create new Cardinals, and it was also forbidden him in the Articles made and agreed on by the Cardinals at the Time of his Election to the Popedom. He exhorted him to reserve such a Step for more peaceable Times, in which he would be under no Necessity, nor have Cause to promote any to so great a Dignity but Persons of a most approved Character for Prudence, Learning and Manners.

To the
King of
France.

To the King of *France* *Cæsar* wrote in Substance, that knowing the Inclination
that

that his Majesty had always had to a safe ^{A. D.} and honourable Peace, he had resolved to ^{1511.} send to *Mantoua* the Bishop of *Goritz*, in order to treat of an universal Peace, to which he had good Reasons to believe that the Pope, whose Authority the *Venetians* would be constrained to follow, was really inclined: That the Ambassadors of the King of *Aragon* would engage that their Master would do the same; and therefore he intreated his Majesty to send thither also his Ambassadors with full Powers: That, as soon as their Plenipotentiaries were assembled together, the Bishop of *Goritz* should request of the Pope to send his Minister also to the Congress, and, in case of Refusal, would denounce to him, in the Name of all the Potentates, a general Council. He added that, in order to proceed with the greater Justice, and to put an End to all Controversies, *Goritz* would hear the Reasons of each Party. But, whatever happened, he might assure himself that the *Venetians* would come to no Agreement, if, at the same time, all Differences with the Pope were not settled.

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Pope
pleased
with a
Congress.

THE Pontiff was pleased at this Step, not from a View of Peace or Concord, but because he persuaded himself that he could dispose the *Venetian* Senate to come to an Agreement with *Cæsar*, by which that Prince, being freed from a Necessity of continuing united with the King of *France*, would separate himself from him, whence would easily result a Confederacy of many Princes against that King.

BUT this unforeseen Resolution of *Cæsar* was very disagreeable to the King of *France*, because, as he had no Hopes that an universal Peace would be the Result of it, the least Evil he apprehended was the Delay it would occasion in the Execution of those Operations that he had concerted with *Cæsar*. He was under Apprehensions also that the Pope, by promising *Cæsar* to assist him in conquering the Dutchy of *Milan*, and to *Goritz* the Dignity of a Cardinal, with other Ecclesiastical Favours, might separate that Prince from his Alliance, or at least occasion his coming to a Composition with the *Venetians* upon less favourable

favourable Terms, when he himself would be constrained to accept of Peace upon very dishonourable Conditions. His Jealousy was increased by *Cæsar's* entering into a new Confederacy with the *Swiss*, though it was only defensive: He persuaded himself also that the Catholic King had been the Author of this new Measure taken by *Cæsar*, and he greatly suspected the Inclination of that Prince upon many Accounts. He knew that his Ambassador at *Cæsar's* Court was busying himself, and openly employed in promoting an Accommodation between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*. He believed that he secretly encouraged the Pope, in whose Army his Troops had continued for a much longer Term than they were obliged by the Contract of the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He knew that, to obstruct his Undertakings, he had strenuously opposed the Calling of a Council, and, under a Pretence of Fitness and Decency, had openly condemned the Undertaking of such a Work while *Italy* was embroiled in Wars, and full of armed Forces, declaring, that to hold a Council without the Consent of

A. D.

1511.

French

King sus-

picious of

the King

of dragon.

A. D. 1511. all the Princes could produce nothing but pernicious and malignant Effects. He had Notice also that his Catholic Majesty was preparing a very powerful Fleet, and, tho' he had published abroad that he intended to pass in Person into *Africa*, he could not assure himself that his Preparations were not intended for some other Design. His Suspicions were much increased by the soft and obliging Way of addressing him used by *Ferdinando*, in which he intreated his Majesty, as a Brother, to make Peace with the Pope, even though it were at the Price of receding from his Rights, if it could not be done otherwise, that he might not shew himself a Persecutor of the Church, contrary to the antient Piety of the House of *France*, nor interrupt the War which he had designed, for propagating the Christian Faith, against the *Moors* in *Africa*, by involving at the same time all Christendom in Contentions. He added, that it had been always the Custom of Christian Princes, when they took up Arms against the Infidels, to demand, in so pious a Cause, the Assistance of others; but, as for himself, he was contented if he was not hindered,

dered, and that he desired no other Aid or Encouragement from him than only to consent that *Italy* should remain in Peace. These plausible Expressions of the Sentiments of the King of *Aragon*, though presented to the King by the *Spanish* Ambassador, and spoken by *Ferdinando* himself to the *French* Ambassador resident at his Court, in a very insinuating Way, and with great Demonstrations of Love, appeared to the King of *France* as containing a tacit Protestation of his taking up Arms in favour of the Pope, which it was probable he would not venture to do without Hopes of inducing *Cæsar* to do the same.

THE King was much disturbed with such Reflections, and greatly suspected that to treat of a Peace by means of the Bishop of *Goritz* would be either fruitless, or prejudicial to his Interest. That he might not, however, give any Cause of Offence to *Cæsar*, he resolved to send to *Mantoua* the Bishop of *Paris*, a Prelate of great Authority, and a learned Civilian. At the same Time he signified to *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, who had his Head Quarters at *Sermidi*,
and,

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 }

 and, for the greater Conveniency of Lodging, and Provisions, had distributed the Army into several of the circumjacent Towns, that it was his Will that the War should be under his Direction, but with this Limitation, that, till the Arrival of the Bishop of *Goritz*, who was soon expected, he should undertake nothing against the Ecclesiastic State, which indeed was not in his Power to do on account of the unusual Severity of the Season, for, though it was the Beginning of *March*, it was not possible for the Troops to lodge without Covert. *Trivulzio* therefore, having no Opportunity to make any other Attempt, resolved to try if he could not, since the Enemy was posted so near him, find a Way to attack or distress them. They had extended their Quarters when *Chaumont* returned from *Sermidi* to *Carpi*, and lodged all the Infantry at *Bondino*, and the Cavalry at *Finale* and the neighbouring Villages. The General then, having received the King's Commission, marched the next Day to *Stellata*, and the Day following advanced somewhat farther, where he distributed his Army under Covert in the
circumja-

circumjacent Villages; and having laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Po*, between *Stellata* and *Ficheruolo*, he appointed the Duke of *Ferrara* to lay another Bridge a Mile lower at a Place called the *Point*, on that Branch of the *Po* that goes up to *Ferrara*, and to come with a Train of Artillery to the *Spedaletto*, a Place in the *Polesine* * of *Ferrara*, which lies over against *Bondino*. In the mean time *Trivulzio* had Notice by his Spies, that a large Detachment of light Horſe of that Part of the *Venetian* Army which was beyond the *Po* was appointed to approach the next Night to *Mirandola*, to lie there in Ambuſh; on which he gave ſecret Orders to a good Body of Horſe to march thither. Theſe arriving at *Bellaere*, a Palace in the Territory of *Mirandola*, fell upon *Fra Lionardo*, a *Neapolitan*, Captain of the *Venetian* light Horſe, and an Officer of great Reputation in the Army, who, not having the leaſt Apprehenſions of the Coming of the Enemy, had, with an Hundred and Fifty others, diſmounted, and were in expectation to be followed by a greater Number; but being ſurpriſed,

* *Marſhes.*

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Lionardo, with many others of his Troop, were killed *. *Alfonso d'Este* came to the *Spedaletto*, according to Appointment, and the next Night began to fire with his Artillery against *Bondino*; and at the same Time *Trivulzio* ordered *Monf. Gaston de Foix*, Son of the King's Sister, who was yet very young, and came into the Army the Year before, to make an Excursion with an Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horse, and Five Hundred Foot, as far as the Barricades of the Enemy's Quarters. This Detachment put to flight an Hundred and Fifty Foot appointed to guard that Side, whence the rest of the Enemy's Troops, leaving some Men to defend *Bondino*, retired over the Canal to a Place strongly situated. *Trivulzio*, however, did not succeed in any of his Designs; for the Artillery planted against *Bondino*, the *Po* lying between, did but little Execution because of the Distance, and much more because the *Po* being swelled,

Fra Lionardo of *Otranto* was a Knight of *Jerusalem*. His Brethren placed his Statue on Horseback in the Church of *St. Giovanni and Paolo*, where it stands to this Day.

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swelled, and its Banks cut by the Gar- A. D.
rison of *Bondino*, the Country was so over- 1511.
flowed, that there was no Access from the
French Camp to *Bondino* but by Boats.
Hence the General, despairing of pene-
trating to the Enemy's Quarters by that
Avenue, sent for Two Thousand *German*
Foot from *Verona*, and ordered a Levy of
Three Thousand *Grisons*, with a Design to
approach them by the Way of *San Felice*,
if a Treaty of Peace did not interpose by
means of the Bishop of *Goritz*.

THE Arrival of that Prelate was some-
what retarded by his waiting several Days
at *Salò* on the Lake of *Garda*, in fruitless
Expectations of an Answer from the Pope,
whom he had solicited by Letters to send
his Ambassadors to the Congress. But at Congress
of Man-
tova.
length he arrived at *Mantua*, accompanied
by Don *Pedro d'Urrea*, Resident in ordinary
of the King of *Aragon* with *Cæsar*. A
few Days after arrived the Bishop of *Paris*
from the King of *France*, who was come as
far as *Lions*, that he might be nearer to
the Negotiations of Peace and the Pro-
visions of War, persuading himself that
the

A. D. 1511. the Pontiff would also send his Plenipotentiary. But His Holiness on the other Side insisted that the Bishop should wait on him, being induced not so much because it appeared to him most suitable to the Pontifical Dignity, as because he was in Hopes that by honouring that Prelate, and loading him with Promises, and by the Efficacy and Authority of his Presence, he might induce him to comply with his own Inclinations, which were more averse than ever to Concord and Peace; and, that he might the more easily persuade the Bishop to come to *Rome*, he procured *Girolamo Vich*, the *Spanish* Minister at his Court, to wait on him.

GORITZ did not refuse to wait on His Holiness, but said he required of him to do that first which was more proper to be done afterwards. He asserted that it was easier to remove Difficulties by treating first at *Mantoua*; that he intended to pay Obedience to His Holiness when Matters were digested, and in a manner concluded; and that he was restrained from complying with the Pope's Desire, not only with respect

Reason of
Goritz for
his not
waiting
on the
Pope.

spect to the Facility of Success, but also as much by Necessity: For how was it possible for him, without breaking the Laws of Decency and Good Manners, to leave alone by himself the Bishop of *Paris*, who was deputed by the King of *France* to *Mantoua* at the Instances of *Cæsar*? With what Hopes could that Prelate then pretend to treat of the Affairs of the King his Master? Or where would be the Fitness of requesting him to go along with him to the Pope, since neither his Commission, nor the Dignity of his King would suffer him to go into the House of an Enemy before their Differences were composed, or at least in a fair Way of Accommodation?

THE two *Aragonese* Ambassadors argued to the contrary, by shewing that all the Hopes of Peace depended on accommodating the Affair of *Ferrara*, because if that could be effected the Pope would no longer have any Cause to support the *Venetians*, who then would be under a Necessity of accepting a Peace on such Conditions as *Cæsar* himself should please to prescribe: That the Pope pretended that

Argu-
ments of
the *Spanish*
Ambassadors
to the
contrary.

the

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the Apostolic See had very strong Claims upon the City of *Ferrara*; that besides he thought himself treated by *Alfonso d'Este* with great Ingratitude, and to have suffered great Injuries from him; and to pacify his Indignation, which was highly provoked, it was fitter and more to the Purpose for the Vassal to crave the Mercy of his Superior than to call in Question his Justice. For this Reason it was not only meet, but in a manner necessary, in order to obtain that Clemency, for the Bishop to remove to *Rome*, and urge the Case before the Pope, which they did not doubt would soften his Spirit, and dispose him to abate much of the Rigour of his Severity; and they thought it much to be regretted that so much Industry, Diligence and Authority, which ought to have been employed in disposing the Pope to a Peace, should be thrown away in persuading him to send Ambassadors to the Congress. They added, in very plausible Speeches, that there could be no Disputation, nor Termination of Differences where all the Parties did not intervene; but that at *Mantoua* there was but one Party, for *Cæsar*, the Most Christian

Christian King, and the Catholic King A. D.
1511.
 were so linked together in Leagues, Affinities and Affection, that they ought to be reputed as Brothers, and the Interest of each Particular as common to them all. *Goritz* at last consented to go, while it was agreed that the Bishop of *Paris* should stay at *Parma*, in expectation of the Success of his Journey.

THE Pontiff at this Time, while these Steps were making towards a Peace, had not laid aside the Thoughts of War, but resolved to make a new Attempt on the Fort of *Genivolo*, and committed the Conduct of it to *Giovanni Vitelli*. But the Number of Foot being much less than was designed, on account of the Scantiness of the Pay, and the Grounds about the Fort being laid under Water by the Rains, and because the Garrison had cut the Dikes, no Progress was made in the Siege. *Alfonso d' Este* also had the Superiority on the Waters; for having with his Fleet of Gallies and Brigantines attacked near *S. Alberto* the *Venetian* Fleet, the *Venetians*, during the Fight, being

A. D. 1511. terrified at the Discovery of a Fleet of smaller Vessels coming from *Comacchio*, fled into the Port of *Ravenna*, with the Loss of two Fusti, three Barbotti*, and above Forty smaller Vessels; hence the Pope lost all Hopes of taking the Fort, and sent the Troops that lay before it to the Camp at *Finale*.

Pope fails
to take
Genuolo.

Makes a
Promo-
tion of
Cardinals.

At the same time the Pope created Eight Cardinals, with a View partly to procure the Good Will of the Princes, and partly to fortify himself against the Threats of a Council by the Assistance of learned and experienced Prelates, and such as were of Authority in the Court of *Rome*: Amongst these Cardinals was the Archbishop of *York*, called by the *Latins* *Eboracensis*, Ambassador of the King of *England*, and the Bishop of *Sion*; this latter, as a Person of Importance for putting in Motion the Nation of the *Swiss*; and the former at the Sollicitations of his King, whom he was in no small Hopes of exciting against the *French*. And to give the Bishop of *Goritz*, as it were, a sure

* A Sort of Lighter.

sure Earnest of the same Dignity, and by the Hopes of it to render him the more supple and compliant to his Desires, he reserved, with the Consent of the Consistory, the Power of nominating another reserved in *Petto*. *.

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1511.

WHEN His Holiness understood that the Bishop of *Goritz* had consented to come to him, he thought fit to receive him with distinguishing Honours, and thinking that none could be greater than for a *Roman* Pontiff to put himself on the Way to meet him, and also desirous, for the greater Conveniency of honouring him, to receive him in a magnificent City, he went from *Ravenna* to *Bologna*, into which, the third Day after his Arrival, the Bishop of *Goritz* made his Entry, and was received with such Marks of Honour that a King could hardly expect greater. Nor did the Bishop fall short of the Pope in Pomp and Mag-

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nificence ;

* *In Petto*, from the *Latin in Pectore*, literally, in *English*, in the Breast ; so that to reserve in *Petto* is the same as what we often say, to reserve in our Breast. A Cardinal in *Petto* is in fact a Cardinal from the Time of such Creation.

A. D. 1511. nificence ; for being *Cæsar's* Lieutenant in *Italy*, he was attended by a vast Train of Lords and Noblemen, all with their Servants in Liveries most splendidly adorned. At the Gate of the City he was met by the *Venetian* Ambassador resident at the Pope's Court, who paid him his Respects with the most profound Submission ; but the Bishop, full of Pride beyond Imagination, turning towards the Ambassador, with Marks of the utmost Scorn and Indignation both in Words and Gestures, shewed himself highly affronted that one who represented the Enemies of *Cæsar* had dared to present himself before his Sight. *Goritz* was conducted in the most pompous Manner to a public Consistory, where the Pope and all the Cardinals attending his Coming, before whom, in a short Speech, but in a very haughty Strain, he declared that *Cæsar* had sent him into *Italy* out of a Desire to obtain his Rights rather by the Way of Peace than of War, and that this could not be effected, if the *Venetians* did not restore all that in any manny whatsoever belonged to him. After this public Audience, he had

Proud Behaviour
of the
Bishop of
Goritz.

had a private Conference with the Pope, A. D. 1511. where he declared the same Sentiments; and with the same Haughtiness. The next Day he shewed no less Pride in his Actions than he had done in his Speeches and Behaviour: For the Pontiff having, with his own Consent, deputed the three Cardinals, of *St. Giorgio*, *Regino*, and *de' Medici*, to treat with him, they waited for him at the Time appointed for their Meeting; but the Bishop, as if it was beneath him to treat with any but the Pope, sent three of his Gentlemen to treat with them, excusing himself on his being employed on other Affairs. The Pope swallowed this Indignity with many others, his invincible Hatred against the *French* getting the better of his natural Temper.

IN treating of an Agreement between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, which was the first Thing brought upon the Carpet, many Difficulties occurred: For tho' *Goritz*, who had at first demanded the whole *Terra firma*, consented at last that *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, with their whole

A. D. Territories and Appurtenances, should re-
 1511. main in the Possession of the *Venetians*;
 yet he insisted on their paying to *Cæsar* a
 very large Sum of Money in recompence*,
 and that they should acknowledge
 themselves his Feudatories for these
 Cities, and renounce all their Claims to
 the other Towns. These Demands were
 rejected by the Senate, who unanimously
 concluded that, since they had fortified
Padoua and *Trevigi* in such a Manner that
 they were not afraid of losing them, it
 was more for the Interest of the Republic
 to keep their Money; for, when the pre-
 sent Storm was once passed over their
 Heads, some favourable Opportunity might
 present itself for recovering the rest of their
 Dominions.

Cæsar's
 exorbitant
 Demands
 rejected
 by the
Venetians.

ON the other hand the Pontiff was
 ardently desirous that the *Venetians* should
 agree with *Cæsar*, in hopes that the Con-
 sequence of such an Agreement would be
 the Dissolution of the Union between
 that

* Two Hundred Thousand Crowns for the Investiture
 of *Padoua* and *Trevigi*, and Fifty Thousand Crowns a
 Year High-Rent or Fee Money. *Buonac.*

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1511.

that Prince and the King of *France*. With this View he was continually stimulating, both by Intreaties and Menaces, the Senate to accept of the Conditions proposed. But his Authority had not so much Weight with them, not only because they knew the Motives that prompted him to this extreme Sollicitude, but because they were sensible how necessary their Alliance would be to him if he should not reconcile himself with the King of *France*, and therefore assured themselves that he would never abandon them. At length, however, after a Dispute of many Days, the Bishop abating somewhat of his Stiffness, and the *Venetians* shewing more Compliance than they had intended, at the most pressing Instances of the Pope, seconded by the Interposition of the Ambassadors of the King of *Aragon*, who were present at all the Debates, the two Parties seemed to be agreed, the *Venetians* paying for *Cæsar's* Consent to their keeping Possession of *Padoua* and *Trevigi* a great Sum of Money, but at very distant Times*.

Agreement between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*.

N 4

IT

* The above said Sum of Two Hundred Thousand Crowns, and Fifty Thousand Crowns a Year, but without any

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IT now remained to find some Means for effecting a Reconciliation between the Pope and the King of *France*, who seemed to have no other Cause for their Difference but the Affairs of the Duke of *Ferrara*. *Goritz*, in order to put an End to this Controversy, because *Cæsar* had resolved to come to no Agreement unless this Point was settled, went to confer with the Pope, whom he had very rarely visited; persuading himself, by the Hopes which were infused into him by the Cardinal of *Pavia* and the Ambassadors of the Catholic King, that it would not be difficult for him to succeed. And as for the King of *France*, he was very well assured that he had less Regard to his Dignity than to his Quiet, and was therefore disposed to consent to many Things, though prejudicial to the Duke of *Ferrara*. But he had hardly entered upon his Discourse when the

any other Acknowledgment; but there still remained some Difference about the Patriarchate of *Aquileia*. *Moc. Buonac.* This Dispute about the Patriarchate of *Aquileia* was lately revived, and was not determined till the Pope divided it into two Bishoprics, one subject to the House of *Austria*, the other to the *Venetians*.

the Pope interrupted him, and advised him to mind his Agreement with the *Venetians*, and not meddle with the Affairs of *Ferrara**; lamenting that *Cæsar* should be ignorant what a fine Opportunity he had of revenging himself for the many Injuries he had received of the *French*, with the Forces, and at the Expence of others; and that he should expect to be intreated for what in all Reason he ought to supplicate with the utmost Earnestness. The Bishop replied, and enforced his Discourse with many Reasons, but could not make the Pope alter his Sentiments, and therefore signified his Desire to depart, without putting a further Hand to the finishing of the Peace with the *Venetians*. Then, after kissing the Pope's Feet, according to Custom, he set out the same Day, which was the fifteenth after his Arrival at *Bologna*, for *Modena*, the Pope sending in vain to recal him as soon as he was gone out of the City. From *Modena* he directed his Journey to *Milan*, complaining of the Pope

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1511.

Bishop of
Goritz
leave *Bologna*
without
Success.

* As soon as the Bishop of *Goritz* began to speak of *Ferrara*, the Pope answered he would make no Alteration but would sooner throw away the Popedom, and his own Life after it, than debate on that Subject. *Buonac.*

A. D. Pope for many Reasons, and particularly
 1511. that while there was, on account of his
 Coming into *Italy*, in a manner, a Suspension of Arms, he had with all Secrecy sent the Bishop of *Vintimiglia*, Son of the late Cardinal *Pagolo Fregosò*, to disturb the State of *Genoa*. But the *French*, having Intelligence of his Coming, caused him to be apprehended as he went in Disguise through the *Monferrat*, from whence he was conducted to *Milan*, where he made a full Discovery of the Causes and Intentions of his Journey.

Myſte-
 rious Con-
 duct of
 the Pope
 and of the
 King of
Aragon.

THE Bishop of *Goritz*, at his Departure from *Bologna*, ſollicited the *Aragoneſe* Ambaſſadors, who to all Appearance took great Pains to effect an univerſal Peace, and ſeemed to be very ſorry for the Inflexibility of the Pope, to procure the Return of the Three Hundred *Spaniſh* Lances into the Kingdom of *Naples*; to which they readily conſented. Hence every one was ſurpriſed that at a Time when a Council was in Agitation, and it was expected that the powerful Armies of the *French* and *Germans*, with the two Kings at their Heads,

Heads, would overspread *Italy*, the Pontiff, A. D.
1511. who was already at Enmity with the King of *France*, should forfeit the Good-will of *Cæsar*, and deprive himself of the Assistance of the Catholic King. Some doubted that in this, as well as in many other Cases, the Designs of the King of *Aragon* were different from what they appeared in outward Show, and that his Ambassadors acted one Part in public, and another Part in secret with the Pontiff. For that Prince having provoked the King of *France* by new Offences, and so revived the Memory of old Injuries, seemed to have Reason to fear that Peace between all the other Parties would create very great Danger to himself; the *Venetians* remaining much weakened in Dominion, Money and Reputation, and the King of the *Romans* having but little Power in *Italy*, and being more fickle, inconstant, and prodigal than ever. Others reasoning with more Subtilty interpreted the Matter otherwise, imagining that the Pope might perhaps be confident that the King of *Aragon*, though he had protested that he would abandon him, and had recalled his Troops, when he considered

A. D. considered how much his Depression would
 1511. prejudice his own Interest, would always
 take the greater Care to support him.

THE Departure of the Bishop of *Goritz* confounded the Hopes of Peace, though the Pope four Days afterwards sent after him the Bishop of *Moravia*, Ambassador from the King of *Scotland*, resident at his Court, in order to treat of an Agreement with the King of *France*. The Causes therefore of retarding the Operations of War under *Gianjacopo da Trivulzio* being now removed, that General was inspired with a laudable Ambition of performing some Exploit worthy of his Valour and antient Renown, by which he could demonstrate to the King how vastly prejudicial it must be to his Affairs to commit the Management of Wars, an Office, above all other human Transactions, the most laborious, and most difficult, and that requires the greatest Prudence and Experience, not to the Direction of Veteran Commanders, but of unexperienced Youths, of whose Qualifications there are no Testimonials, and who have nothing to recommend them
 but

but courtly Favour. The *Grison* Infantry were not yet arrived, because the General of *Normandy*, who had the Care of the Expeditions, hoping that the Peace would go forward, and willing to ingratiate himself with the King by saving Expences, had delayed to send Orders for Levies. - *Trivulzio*, however, though disappointed of the *Grisons*, pursuant to his first Resolution, in the Beginning of *May*, with an Army of Twelve Hundred Lances and Seven Thousand Foot, laid Siege to *Concordia*, and took it the same Day. For the Inhabitants of the Place, being terrified at the Noise and Execution of the Artillery, sent out Deputies to treat about a Surrendry, which giving Occasion to the Garrison to be negligent of their Guard, the Besiegers scaled the Walls, and got into the Town, and plundered it. After the Reduction of *Concordia*, the General, to avoid giving Occasion to his Rivals to reproach him with regarding his own Interest more than that of the King, leaving *Mirandola* behind him, directed his March to *Buonporto*, a Village seated on the River *Panaro*, in order to approach so near the Enemy,

A. D.
1511.Progress
of the
French
Army.

A. D. 1511. Enemy, as that, by intercepting their Convoys of Provisions, he might constrain them to dislodge, and give him an Opportunity to engage them out of the Strength of their Entrenchments. When he was entered the *Modenese*, and encamped at the Village of *Cavezzo*, having Advice that *Gian Pagol Manfrone* with Three Hundred *Venetian* light Horse lay at *Massa* near *Finale*, he detached thither *Gaston de Foix*, with Three Hundred Foot and Five Hundred Horse. As soon as *Gian Pagolo* had Notice of their Coming, he drew up his Men in Order upon a Bridge. But they did not answer the Boldness and Animosity of their Leader, for he was abandoned by them, and, with some few others that stood by him, taken Prisoner. After this the Army approached *Buonporto*, *Trivulzio* designing to lay a Bridge where a Canal dug from the *Panaro* above *Modena* joins with the River. But the Enemy to prevent his Passage came and posted themselves so near him, that the Armies cannonaded each other, and *Perault*, a *Spanish* Captain in the Ecclesiastic Army, was killed by a Cannon Ball, as we was patrolling

trolling along the Bank of the River. The Banks being very high in that Place, it was easy for the Enemy to hinder the Passing of the River, and therefore *Trivulzio* changed his Design, and laid a Bridge a Mile higher, over the Canal, which he passed, and directed his March towards the City of *Modena*, taking his Rout along the Bank of the *Panaro* in Search of the most commodious Place for laying a Bridge, and always in View of the Horse and Foot of the Enemy, who were encamped at *Castel Franco*, on the *Roman* Road in a Place surrounded with Dikes and Waters. *Trivulzio* in his Way passed over the Bridge of *Fossalto*, two Miles from *Modena*, and then turning on the right Hand towards the *Mantouan* passed the *Panaro* without Obstruction at a Ford, the River at that Place having a wide Channel and no Banks. Having passed the River he encamped at a Place called the *Ghiara di Panaro*, three Miles distant from the Ecclesiastic Army. The next Day he pursued his March towards *Piumaccio*, being supplied with Provisions, by Consent of *Vitfrust*, from the *Modenese*. On the same Day

A. D. ^{1511.} Day the Ecclesiastic Army, not daring to make any Opposition in the open Field, and thinking it necessary to approach towards *Bologna*, for preventing any Commotion in that City, considering that the *Bentivogli* attended the *French* Army, encamped at the Bridge of *Casalecchio*, three Miles above *Bologna*. At this Place, in the Days of our Great Grandfathers, *Giovan Galeazzo Visconte*, a very powerful Duke of *Milan*, and much superior in Strength to his Enemies, obtained a signal Victory over the *Florentines*, *Bolognese*, and others their Confederates. It is a very secure Situation for a Camp, lying between the River *Reno* and the Canal, and, having the Mountain behind it, preserves *Bologna* from being deprived of the Benefit of the Canal, which is cut from the River, and passes through that City. *Castel Franco* surrendered the next Day to *Trivulzio*, who, after he had stopped three Days in his Camp at *Piumaccio*, on account of the Rains, and to provide himself with Victuals, which began to be scarce, came and encamped on the high Road between *Samoggia* and *Castel Franco*. Here he stood in

in Suspense as to his further Operations, many Difficulties presenting themselves to obstruct the Execution of whatever Designs he could form. For he knew it was in vain to attack *Bologna*, if the People did not make a Tumult, and, if he should approach the Place in hopes of a popular Commotion, he doubted he should be constrained suddenly to retire, as *Chaumont* had done before, with Disgrace. It would be more imprudent and dangerous to go and attack the Enemies entrenched in so strong a Camp. To approach *Bologna* on the lower Part of the Town, could answer no other View than give him a doubtful Hope of inducing the Enemy, from an Apprehension of an Invasion of *Romagna*, to put themselves in Motion, and by that Means afford an Opportunity for an Engagement, and for the *Bolognese* to raise a Tumult. At last, however, it was resolved to try whether any Advantage could be gained from the general Disposition of the Citizens, or from the particular Correspondences of the *Bentivogli*. The Army therefore, the Vanguard led by *Teodoro da Trivulzio*, the main Battle by

A. D.

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the General himself, and the Rearguard by *Gaston de Foix*, advanced and took Post at the Bridge of *Laino*, a place on the main Road, at the Distance of five Miles from *Bologna*, and memorable for the Conference between *Lepidus*, *Mark Antony*, and *Octavius*, in which, as Historians relate, under the Name of a Triumvirate, they established a Tyranny at *Rome*, together with that never enough detested Proscription*.

THE Pope was not at this Time in *Bologna*; for, after the Departure of the Bishop of *Goritz*, sometimes Boldness, sometimes Fear getting the Ascendant in his Temper, as soon as he was informed that *Trivulzio* had taken the Field, though the *Spanish* Lances had left him, he set out from *Bologna* for the Army, with a Design to induce the Generals, by his Presence, to come to a Battle with the Enemy, to which he had not been able to dispose them neither by Letters nor Messages. He left *Bologna* with a Design to lodge the first Night at *Cento*, but was obliged to stop

* See *Appian*. de Bel. Civil. Lib. 3. and *Plutarch* in the Life of *Mark Antony*.

stop short at the Town of *Pieve*, because a Thousand of his Foot had entered *Cento*, and were resolved not to quit that Place before they had received their Pay, which perhaps raised his Indignation; and on this account, or else because he considered the Danger more nearly, he returned the next Day to *Bologna*, where, his Fears increasing with the Approach of *Trivulzio*, he resolved to betake himself to *Ravenna*. But first he summoned an Assembly of the Magistracy of Forty, and in a Speech reminded them how by the Favour of the Apostolic See, and by his own Care and Fatigue, they had been freed from the Yoke of a most oppressive Tyranny, and had obtained their Liberty, together with many Exemptions and Privileges, and had received from him many very considerable Favours both in public and private, and were likely to receive more Marks of his Benevolence every Day: By which Means, whereas before they laboured under a most severe Bondage, scorned and trampled under Foot by Tyrants, and were of no Esteem or Reputation among the other Cities of *Italy*, they were now exalted to Honours and

A. D.
1511.

Pope's
Speech to
the Bolo-
gnese.

O 2

Riches,

A. D. Riches, their City was full of Artificers

1511.

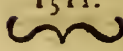
and Merchants, and some of their own Citizens were preferred to the highest Places; they were valued and esteemed every where, were at their own Liberty, and entire Masters of *Bologna* and all its Territory; for they chose their own Magistrates, and shared the Places of Honour among themselves, and the public Revenues were distributed in their own City. The Church had little more than the Name of Sovereignty, and the Right of maintaining among them, and that only as a Mark of its Superiority, a Legate or Governor, who without their Concurrence could come to no Resolution in Affairs of Importance, in which, even when they referred to his Arbitration, he always consulted their Opinion and Pleasure. He assured them that if, in consideration of these Benefits, and of the happy State in which they were situated, and were disposed to defend their own Liberty, he would take the same Care to assist and support them, as he would, in a like Case, to assist and defend *Rome*. He was necessitated, he said, by the weighty Concerns of the present

sent Juncture to depart for *Ravenna*, but he had not forgot, nor intended by this Step to forget, to provide for the Safety of *Bologna*: For which End he had given Orders that the *Venetian* Forces, under the Command of *Andrea Gritti*, on the other Side the *Po*, should march to join his own Army; for which Intent they were now laying a Bridge at *Sermidi*: Thst these Provisions were more than sufficient for their Defence, but not to set his Mind at Rest before he had also delivered them from the Troubles of War: And therefore, to oblige the *French* to march back with their Forces to defend their own Dominions, a Body of Ten Thousand *Swiss* was already prepared to make a Descent into the State of *Milan*; and, that they might the more speedily put themselves in Motion, he had remitted to *Venice* Twenty Thousand Ducats, and the *Venetians* had ordered them the like Sum. But if they could still think themselves happier in returning under the Slavery of the *Bentivogli*, than to enjoy the Sweets of Ecclesiastic Liberty, he intreated them freely to declare their Intentions, because by

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A. D. them he would regulate his Measures; but

1511.  he would have them remember that if they did resolve to defend themselves, the Time was come in which they had a fair Opportunity to shew their Generosity, and to lay an eternal Obligation on the Apostolic See, himself, and all future Popes.

To this Harangue of the Pope, which, according to his Manner, was rather vehement than eloquent, after it had been considered in common Council, the President of the Government made Answer in the Name of all the rest, in the *Bolognese* bombastic Style, magnifying their Loyalty, their Gratitude for the Benefits they had received from him, and their unlimited Devotion to his Interest. They were sensible, he said, of their happy Situation, and how vastly the Riches and Splendor of their City were augmented by the Expulsion of the Tyrants: And whereas before their Lives and Fortunes were in Subjection to the arbitrary Will of others, they could now every one sit down in Security of all they possessed, and enjoy the Blessings of their Country in Peace. They had

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had now a Share in the Government, a Share in the Revenues; and there was not one among them who had not in particular received of His Holiness many Favours and Honours. They saw renewed in their City the Dignity of the Cardinalship, they saw conferred on their Citizens many Prelacies, and many of the principal Offices of the Court of *Rome*. For these innumerable Favours, and most singular Benefits, they were disposed to spend all their Fortunes, to expose to Danger the Honour and Safety of their Wives and Children, and to lose their own Lives, before they would revolt from his Obedience, and from the Apostolic See. His Holiness might therefore go in Peace, joyful and happy, without any Fear or Concern about the Affairs of *Bologna*; for he should sooner hear that their whole Canal ran with the Blood of the *Bolognese*, than that their City invoked any other Name, or obeyed any other Lord, than Pope *Julius*.

A. D.
1511.

This fair Speech found more Credit than it deserved with the Pope, who, leaving the Cardinal of *Pavia* in *Bologna*, set out

Pope
leaves
Bologna

A. D. 1511. for *Ravenna*, not by the direct Road, tho' he was attended by the *Spanish* Lances, who were on their Return to *Naples*, but taking the longer Way about by *Forli* for fear of the Duke of *Ferrara*.

TRIVULZIO being advanced to the Bridge of *Laino*, the City of *Bologna* was all in an Uproar, the Minds of the People being variously agitated according to their different Affections and Interests. Many, accustomed to a licentious Life under a Tyranny, and to maintain themselves with the Money and Effects of their Neighbours, hated the Ecclesiastic Government, and ardently wished the Return of the *Bentivogli*. Others quite dejected, and in Despair by the Losses they had sustained, and feared to sustain on seeing two such Armies enter on their Estates, and at a Time when Harvest was near, longed for any Change, whatever it might be, that would deliver them from those Evils. Others again being under Apprehensions that by means of the Tumult which might arise among the People, or by the prosperous Success of the *French*, whose unruly Efforts,

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Efforts, when they came the first Time, A. D. 1511.
under *Chaumont*, to *Bologna*, they had still
before their Eyes, the City would be plun-
dered, preferred a Deliverance from that
Danger before any Government or Do-
minion whatsoever. And a few, who had
shewed themselves Enemies to the *Benti-
vogli*, favoured, though more in their
Hearts than in their Actions, the Dominion
of the Church. Thus all the Inhabitants
being in Arms, either out of a Desire of
Change, or for their own Safety and Se-
curity, and every Place full of Fear and
Terror, the Cardinal of *Pavia*, the Legate
of *Bologna*, had neither Courage nor Pru-
dence adapted to so dangerous a Juncture.
For having in that great and populous City
no more than Two Hundred light Horse
and one Thousand Foot, and the Misun-
derstanding between him and the Duke of
Urbino, who was with the Army at *Casa-
lecchio*, prevailing more than ever*, he had
by

* *Giovio*, in his Elogy of *Francesco Alidoisio*, Cardinal
of *Pavia*, says, that the Cause of the Disagreement be-
tween the Cardinal and the Duke was the Pope's refusing
to grant the Cardinal the Lordship of *Imola*, which he co-
veted, and which moved him to enter into a treasonable
Correspondence with the *French*, in hopes to obtain his
End;

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1511.

by Chance or Destiny, elected fifteen Captains out of the Number of Citizens, to whom, together with their Companies and the People, he had committed the Guard of the Town and of the Gates. But as he wanted Prudence in making his Choice, the greater Part of these Captains were in the Interest of the *Bentivogli*. Among them was one *Lorenzo di gli Ariosti*, who had before been imprisoned and tortured in *Rome* on Suspicion of conspiring with the *Bentivogli*, and was for a long time afterwards confined in *Castel Sant' Angelo*. These Leaders, as soon as they were invested with their new Authority, and had Arms in their Hands, began to hold private Conferences and Meetings, and to disperse scandalous Reports among the People. And the Legate, beginning too late to blame himself for his Imprudence, in order to avoid the Danger in which he had involved himself, feigned that he was solicited by the Duke of *Urbino*, and other Com-

Ends by their Assistance. Hence, by treacherous Artifices, he was continually raising Obstacles to the Duke in the Management of the War, by delaying the Payments, and retarding the necessary Provisions, in order to facilitate the Success of the *French*.

Commanders to repair to the Army with those new raised Companies. But their Leaders answered that they were resolved not to abandon the Guard of the Town. He then attempted to introduce within the Walls *Ramazotto* with his Regiment of a Thousand Foot; but the People would not suffer him to enter their Gates. The Cardinal, then having lost all Courage, and being conscious that his Government was had in utter Detestation by the People, and that he had many Enemies among the Noblesse, because he had not long before, as he said by Orders from the Pope, assuming a royal Power, beheaded three honourable Citizens*, as soon as it was Night, disguised himself, and, through a private Passage from the Palace, retired into the Citadel, and with so much Precipitation that he forgot to take his Money and Jewels with him. He immediately gave Orders to have them brought, and as soon as he had received them set out from the Gate

* *Giorio* says the Pope gave no such Orders; and further informs us that there were four beheaded, of whom he gives us the Names, and says they were very innocent Persons.

A. D. Gate called *il Soccorso* for *Imola*, attended
 1511. by *Guido Vaina*, who had married his

Legate
 flies from
Bologna.

Sister, and commanded his Horseguards, with a Hundred Horse; and he was followed not long after by *Ottaviano Fregoso*, who left the Citadel with no other Attendance than a Guide. As soon as it was known that the Legate was fled, the whole City was in a Tumult, and began every where to cry up the Name of the People*. *Lorenzo di gli Ariosti*, and *Francesco Rinucci*, who was one of the fifteen Captains, and in the Interest of the *Bentivogli*, would not lose so fair an Opportunity, but, followed by many of the same Faction, ran to the Gates of *San Felice* and *Lame* that lay most commodious for the *French* Camp, and broke them open with Bars and Axes; and being possessed of them sent without Delay to call the *Bentivogli*, who being furnished by *Trivulzio* with a good Number of *French* Horse, in order to avoid the direct Road by the Bridge of *Reno*, which

was

* Name is well known to signify Power or Authority, so that to cry up the Name of the People is the same as to cry out Liberty, or an Abolition of all Tyranny, and an Establishment of a popular Government, under which the People enjoy the greatest Liberties.

was guarded by *Rafaello de' Pazzi*, one of the Ecclesiastic Officers, passed the River lower down, and presenting themselves before the Gate of *Lame* were immediately introduced into the City.

THE Rebellion of *Bologna* was followed by the Flight of the Army; for the Duke of *Urbino*, whose Troops extended themselves from the Bridge of *Casalecchio* to the Gate called *Siragoza*, having Notice, as it is supposed, of the Flight of the Legate, and of the Insurrection of the People, decamped in all Haste at the third Hour of the Night, with all his Army, except those who were appointed to guard the Camp, and posted on that Part of the River towards the *French*, to whom he gave no Notice of his Departure, leaving most Part of his Tents standing. But his Motion being perceived, the *Bentivogli*, who were in the City, sent immediate Advice of it to *Trivulzio*, and ordered out of the Town Part of the People to harass him in his March. The Townsmen in conjunction with the Peasants, who descended from

all

A. D.
1511.

Flight of
the Eccle-
siastic and
Venetian
Armies.

A. D.

1511.



all Parts, with horrible Cries and Shouts fell upon the Camp which extended itself along the Walls of the City, and seized upon the Artillery, Ammunition, and a great Quantity of Baggage; but the *French* coming up soon after wrested the greatest Part of the Plunder out of their Hands. *Tebdoro da Trivulzi* with the Vanguard was now advanced to the Bridge of *Reno*, where *Rafaello de' Pazzi* valiantly fighting stopped them for some time, but at last, being too weak to withstand so great a Superiority of Number, was taken Prisoner, having, as every one acknowledged, by his stout Resistance, given the Troops of the Church a fair Opportunity to save themselves. But the Forces of the *Venetians*, and with them *Ramazotto*, who was posted on the highest Eminence of *St. Luca*, not having timely Notice of the Flight of the Duke of *Urbino*, took the Way of the Mountains to make their Escape, by which, tho' with very considerable Loss, they arrived at last in *Romagna*. In this Victory, which was obtained without Fighting, were taken fifteen Pieces of heavy Cannon, and many smaller ones,

ones, partly belonging to the Pope, partly to the *Venetians*; the Doge's own Standard was taken, with several other Colours, great Part of the Baggage of the Ecclesiastics, and almost all that of the *Venetians*; some Men at Arms of the Troops of the Church were stripped, but of the *Venetians* above One Hundred and Fifty; almost all the Infantry of both Armies were dispersed, and *Orsino da Magnano*, *Giulio Manfrone*, and many other Officers of less Note were taken Prisoners. In *Bologna* no Person was killed, nor Violence offered to any one either of the Noblesse or Commonalty; and none were made Prisoners but the Bishop of *Chiusi*, with a considerable Number of Prelates, Secretaries and other Officers, Assistants to the Cardinal, who had remained in the Palace which was the Residence of the Legate, and had not the least Notice of his Departure. The same Night and the next Day the Populace fell upon a Statue of the Pope in Brass, and dragged it about the great Square with much Scorn and Derision; which they did either at the Instigation of some of the Partisans of the *Bentivogli*;

A. D.

1511.

A. D. 1511. *vogli*; or because the People being weary of the Fatigues and Losses occasioned by the Wars, as they are naturally ungrateful, and Lovers of Novelties, had in reality conceived a Hatred against the Name and Memory of the Person who had been the Author of the Freedom and Happiness of their Country.

Motions
of *Trivulzio*.

THE next Day, which was the 22d of May, *Trivulzio* continued in the same Quarters, and the Day following he decamped, and, leaving *Bologna* behind him, marched to the River *Lidice*, and afterwards encamped at *Castel San Piero*, a Town situated on the Extremity of the *Bolognese* Territory, where he intended to wait that he might know the Designs of the King of *France*; whether he was to march forwards and invade the Territories of the Pope, or whether the King, contenting himself with having secured *Ferrara*, and deprived the Church of *Bologna*, which it had acquired by his Means, would have him put a Stop to the Course of his Victory. Wherefore when *Giovanni da Saffatello*, an Officer of the Pope, who expelled

expelled the *Ghibellins* from *Imola*, and, as the Head of the *Geulfs* was in a manner absolute in that City, offered to put that Place into his Hands, he would not accept of it before he had received the King's Answer.

THE Citadel of *Bologna*, in which was *Vitello* the Bishop, was not yet reduced: It was large and strong, but provided as the Fortresses of the Church usually are; for the Garrison consisted only of a few Foot, who were but ill stored with Victuals, and had scarce any Ammunition. During the Siege *Vitfrust* came one Night from *Modena* into the Place, and solicited the Bishop by large Promises to surrender it to *Cæsar*. But that Prelate, on the fifth Day of the Siege, capitulated, and surrendered the Citadel to the *Bolognese*, on Condition of Safety to the Lives and Effects of all that were in it, and of a Bond by which they were obliged to pay him Three Thousand Ducats within a prefixed Time. As soon as that Fortress was evacuated the People ran with one Consent to demolish it; to which they were

Citadel of
Bologna
surrendered
and demolished.

A. D.

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instigated by the *Bentivogli*, not so much with a Design to conciliate the Affections of the Citizens, as out of a Jealousy that the King of *France* designed to have it in his Possession, since it had been the Opinion of some of his General Officers that it ought to be demanded; but *Trivulzio* judging it was not for the King's Interest to have it believed that he intended to make himself Master of *Bologna*, was of another Opinion. The Duke of *Ferrara* took Occasion from this Victory to recover not only *Cento* and *Pieve*, but also *Cotignuola*, *Lugo*, and the other Towns of *Romagna*, and at the same time chased away from *Carpi* *Alberto Pio*, who had before enjoyed that Place in common with the Duke.

The Pope
perplexed

THE Pope was extremely mortified, and with very good Reason, at the Loss of *Bologna*; and he tormented himself not only for the Revolt of the principal and most important City, except *Rome*, in the whole Ecclesiastic State, and that he seemed to be deprived of that Glory with which
he

he was magnified by the Public, and much more in his own Conceit for the Acquisition of it, but also with the dreadful Apprehensions that the conquering Army would pursue its Victory, since he knew himself incapable of making Resistance. That he might, however, remove all Occasions that might invite the Enemy to advance any farther, he requested that the Remainers of the *Venetian* Army, which were already recalled by the Senate, might embark at the Port of *Cesena*; and, for the same Reason, that Twenty Thousand Ducats, which he had remitted to *Venice*, for putting the *Swiss* in Motion, and were still repositied in that City, might be returned. He appointed also that the Cardinal of *Nantes*, a *Breton* by Nation, should, as it were of his own Motion, invite *Trivulzio* to treat of a Peace, by shewing him that now he had a fair Opportunity. But that Commander answered that such a general Demand was of no Signification, but that it was necessary to descend expressly to Particulars: That the King, when he desired Peace, had proposed the Conditions; that now it was the Pope's Turn to

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A. D. 1511. do, the same, since such was the Situation of his Affairs that it belonged to him to desire it. The Pope proceeded after this Manner more to avoid the present Danger, than out of a real and hearty Disposition to Peace; Fear, Obstinacy, Enmity and Indignation, all at once combating together in his Breast.

At the same time happened a most dismal Accident, which redoubled the Pope's Grief. Many were the Accusations brought against the Cardinal of *Parvia*, some charging him with Treachery, others with Cowardice and others with Imprudence. The Cardinal was come to *Ravenna* of his own accord to justify his Conduct, and as soon as he arrived sent Notice of his Coming to His Holiness, requesting he would appoint him a Time for an Audience. The Pope, who dearly loved him, was overjoyed, and gave him an Invitation to dine with him. As he was going to the Palace, attended by *Guido Vaina* and his Horse Guards, the Duke of *Urbino*, prompted by his inveterate Hatred, and inflamed with Rage because
it

it was the Cardinal's Fault, as he said, that the Rebellion happened in *Bologna*, and the Flight of the Army in consequence of it, set out to meet him with a few Attendants, and entering among his Guards, who gave him Way out of Respect, made up to him and killed him with his own Hands by stabbing him with a Dagger. His great Dignity as a Cardinal ought perhaps to have preserved his Person inviolable, but, with Regard to his infinite and enormous Vices, he deserved the worst of Punishments. The News of his Death being immediately carried to the Pope, he burst into Cries that reached the very Heavens, making most doleful Lamentations, and bewailing beyond measure the Loss of a Cardinal who was so dear to him, and much the more because the Dignity of the Cardinals hip was, in an unparalleled Manner, violated before his Eyes, and by his own Nephew; a Fact which gave him the more Concern, as he professed himself to be more than commonly zealous for the Preservation and Promotion of the Ecclesiastic Authority*.

The Cardinal of Ravenna killed by the Duke of Urbino.

P 3

THE

* The Duke of *Urbino* was just come out of the Pope's Chamber, where he had been to clear himself from the Calumnies

THE HISTORY OF

THE Pope, unable to bear his Grief, or bridle his Fury, set out the same Day from *Ravenna* on his Return to *Rome*. And to crown those infinite and intolerable Calamities, which at the same time surrounded him on all Sides, he was hardly arrived at *Rimini*, when he received Notice that Bills had been hung up in the public Places at *Modena*, *Bologna*, and many other Cities, advertising the Convocation of a General Council, with a Citation for himself to appear in Person at it. For the Bishop of *Goritz*, though he had left *Modena*, travelled but slowly for some Days, in Expectation of the Arrival of the *Scotch* Ambassador, who was returned to *Bologna*, on the Proposals which

Calumnies cast upon him by the Cardinal, who had charged him with the Loss of *Bologna* as owing to his Fault. The Pope would not hear him, but rudely thrust him out of the Room. Hence the Duke, burning with Rage against the Cardinal, the Author of so great an Injury, and meeting him in the Street, gave him several Thrusts (*Buonacorsi* says five) with his Sword, and his Attendants taking him upon a Mule carried him to a House, where he died soon after. *Bembo*. *Gradinico* writes that the Duke waited for the Cardinal, and seeing him on Horseback called him Traitor, Enemy to the *Italian* Blood, and stabbed him with a Dagger.

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A D.

1511.

which the Pope himself had made. But the Ambassador returning at length with very uncertain Answers, the Bishop immediately ordered three Proxies, in the Name of *Cæsar*, to repair to *Milan*. These Proxies, in Conjunction with the Cardinals, and the Proxies of the King of *France*, proclaimed the Council to be held on the first Day of *September* next, in the City of *Pisa*, as a Place convenient, by its Situation near the Sea, for the Accommodation of them who were to attend the Council, and on account of its Security, because of the Confidence which the King of *France* reposed in the *Florentines*. To this it might be added, that though many other Places were capable of entertaining the Council, they were either not so commodious, or suspected, or might, with some Show of Reason, be refused by the Pope. In *France* it could not with Decency be called, or in any Place that was under Subjection to the King. *Constance*, one of the Free Towns of *Germany*, which was proposed by *Cæsar*, though illustrious for the Memory

Pisa appointed for the Place of the Council.

P 4

of

* These Cardinals were *San Severino*, *Santa Croce*, *Cosenza*, and *San Malo*. *Buonac*.

A. D. of that famous Council, which, by de-
 1511. posing three Persons, who acted as Pon-
 tiffs, extirpated the Schism under which
 the Church had suffered about forty Years,
 appeared very incommodious, and was
 suspected by both Sides*. *Turin* was not
 a safe Place, on account of the Neighbour-
 hood of the *Swiss*, and of the States of the
 King of *France*. *Bologna*, before it was
 alienated from the Church, was unsafe for
 the Cardinals, and since for the Pope. In
 making Choice of *Pisa* Regard was also
 had in some measure to the Auspiciousness
 of the Place, in Memory of two Councils
 there held with prosperous Success. In
 the first, when almost all the Cardinals
 had abandoned *Gregory XII.* and *Benedict*
XIII. who contended for the Popedom,
Alexander V. was elected Pope. In the
 other Council, which was more antient,
 being held at *Pisa* about the Year 1136,
 by *Innocent II.* one *Pietro di Leone*,
 a *Roman*, and Anti-Pope by the Name of
Ana-

* The Council of *Constance* began in 1414, and lasted
 three Years. The three Popes deposed were *John XXIII.*
 before called *Baldassarre Cescia*, *Gregory XII.* and *Benedict*
XIII. before called *Pietro Luna*, after which the Coun-
 cil created Pope *Martin V.*

Anacletus II. was condemned, after he had by a Schism given much Trouble, not only to *Innocent* but to all Christendom. The *Florentines* had before consented that the Council should be held in *Pisa* at the Request of the King of *France*, who assured them that *Cæsar* was as much concerned in the Convocation of a Council as himself, and that the King of *Aragon* also gave his Consent to it. In this Step the *Florentines* deserved perhaps more Praise for their Silence, than for their Prudence, or Firmness of Mind. For though they had not Spirit enough to deny the King of *France* what they were very loth to grant, or had not the Prudence to consider the Difficulties and Dangers that might arise from holding a Council contrary to the Will of the Pope, yet they concealed this Resolution, though made in a Council of above an Hundred and Fifty Citizens, with such Secresy, that it was uncertain to the Cardinals, to whom the King had given Hopes but no Assurances that his Request would be granted; and the Pope had not the least Intimation of it.

THE HISTORY OF

Charge
againſt the
Pope.

THE Cardinals pretended that they could lawfully call a Council without the Authority of the Pope, on account of the moſt evident Neceſſity under which the Church ſtood of a Reformation, as they ſaid, not only in its Members, but in the Head itſelf, that is, in the Perſon of the Pope, whom they affirmed to be an inveterate Simoniack, of infamous and abandoned Manners, not fit to diſcharge the Office of a Pontiff, as being the Author of ſo many Wars, and notoriously incorrigible, to the univerſal Scandal of Chriſtianity, for whoſe Welfare no other Remedy could be provided but the Calling of a Council; and, the Pope being negligent in procuring this Remedy, the Power of convoking a Council was lawfully devolved to them, eſpecially as it was enforced with the Authority of the Emperor elect, and the Conſent of the Moſt Chriſtian King, with the Concurrence of the *German* and *French* Clergy. They ſubjoined that it was not only beneficial, but neceſſary for the ſickly and diſordered Body of the Church, to make frequent Uſe

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Use of this Medicine for the Extirpation of ^{A. D.} inveterate Abuses, and to provide against ^{1511.} new Errors daily springing up; to clear and interpret Doubts, which constantly arose, and to correct Things which at first were instituted with a good Intent, but were found at particular Times by Experience to be pernicious. For these Reasons the Reverend Fathers in the Council of *Constance*, for the general Benefit, appointed that perpetually for the future a Council should be held every ten Years. And what other Bridle could be laid on the Popes, to keep them from going astray? And considering the great Frailty of human Nature, and the manifold Temptations to which our Life is subject, how could they otherwise stand secure, if a Person entrusted with so much Power knew that he should never be called to an Account for his Actions? ^{Reasons for frequent Councils.}

ON the other Side many opposed these Reasons, and, adhering more to the Doctrine of Divines than to that of the Canonists, asserted that the Power of calling Councils resided wholly in the Person of the ^{Pope's Authority asserted.}

A. D.

1511.

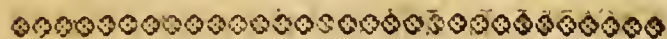
the Pontiff, even though he were stained with all manner of Vices, provided he was not suspected of Heresy; and, that to understand the Case otherwise, would be to put it in the Power of a Few (which ought by no means to be admitted) either out of Ambition, or private Enmity, by disguising their corrupt Intentions under false Colours, to disturb on every Pretence the quiet State of the Church. All Medicines are in their own Nature wholesome, but if not administred in due Proportions, or at seasonable Times, become rather Poisons than Medicines. They condemned therefore those who were of different Sentiments, and called this Congregation not a Council, but a Cause of Division from the Unity of the Apostolic See, the Foundation of a Schism in the Church of God, and a Diabolical Conventicle.

The End of the Ninth Book.

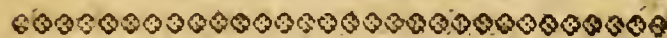
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Francesco Guicciardini's
H I S T O R Y
O F
The WARS in ITALY.



B O O K X.




T H E C O N T E N T S.

Treaty of Peace between the Pope and the King of France. Denunciation of a Council to be held in Rome. Restitution of Monte Pulciano to the Florentines by means of the Pope. Progress of the War at Verona, and in Friuli. The Sicknefs of the Pope, and the Commotions in Rome. Pope jealous of the King of Aragon. Excommunication of Florence and Pisa. League between the Pope, the Catholic King, and the Venetians against France. Degradation of the Cardinals who called a Council. Designs of the Pope to make War upon the Florentines.

Council

Council of Pisa translated to Milan. Discourse on the Swifs; their fruitless Expedition into Italy. Enterprises of the Confederates against Bologna and Ferrara. Action at Brescia. Battle of Ravenna. Decline of the French Affairs in Italy.

A. D. 1511.  L L Italy and the greater Part of
 A Christendom were held in Suf-
 pense and Expectation, and vast-
 ly attentive to the Resolutions of the King
 of France in consequence of his Victory.
 For it manifestly appeared to all that he
 had it in his Power to seize upon Rome,
 and the whole Ecclesiastic State, the
 Troops of the Pope being in a manner all
 dissipated and dispersed, and those of the
Venetians in a much worse Condition.
 And as there were no other Forces in Italy
 that could withstand the Attacks of the
 Conqueror, it appeared that the Pope,
 who had no other Defence than the Ma-
 jesty of the Pontificate, must in all other
 Respects lie at the Mercy of Fortune.
 The King however, being either restrained
 by the Reverence due to Religion, or
 afraid

afraid of drawing upon himself the Re-
 sentments of all the Princes if he made
 any further Progress, resolved not to im-
 prove the Opportunity afforded by his
 Victory, but taking his Measures with
 more Piety perhaps than Policy, ordered
Gianjacopo da Trivulzio to leave *Bologna*
 in the Power of the *Bentivogli*, to restore
 whatever else he had taken belonging to
 the Church, and to return immediately
 with the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*.
 This Mildness and Forbearance, which the
 King exercised in his Actions, were accom-
 panied with Marks of the greatest Hu-
 manity and Condescension in Words. He
 prohibited all Demonstrations of public
 Rejoicings throughout his Dominions, and
 oftentimes declared before Company, that
 tho' he had not transgressed either against
 the Apostolic See or against the Pontiff,
 nor done any thing without Provocation
 and Necessity, yet in Reverence to that
 See he was willing to humble himself, and
 ask Pardon of his Holiness. The King,
 it seems, persuaded himself that the Pope,
 being convinced by Experience of the
 Difficulties that attended the Execution
 of

A. D.
1511.King of
France
seeks a
Reconci-
liation
with the
Pope.

A. D. ^{1511.} of his Projects, and freed from the vain Suspensions and Prejudices he had entertained against him, would now think it his Duty to desire Peace with all his Heart. And indeed the Negotiations for that Purpose had never been totally intermitted; for the Pontiff, even before his Departure from *Bologna*, had sent to the King the Ambassador of *Scotland*, whose Business was to continue the Treaty which had been set on foot, by the Agency of the said Ambassador, with the Bishop of *Goritz*. The *Bentivogli*, in Submission to the King's Authority, had signified to the Pontiff that they would by no means shew themselves contumacious or Rebels to the Church, but persevere in that Subjection in which their Father had continued so many Years; and, as a Token of their Obedience, they had set at liberty the Bishop of *Chiusi*, and instated him, according to antient Custom, in the Palace as Apostolical Lieutenant.

TRIVULZIO then decamped, and came with his Army before *Mirandola*, with an Intent to recover that Town, tho' *Vitfrust*,
at


at the Intreaties of *Giovan Francesco Pico*,
 had entered the Place under Colour of
 keeping possession of it in the Name of
Cæsar, and representing to *Trivulzio* that
Mirandola was within the Jurisdiction of
 the Empire, protested against all Attempts
 to molest it; yet finding at last that his bare
 Authority was of no Signification, he gave
 up the Place and departed, having first
 received of *Trivulzio* certain Promises which
 were thought requisite for the Honour
 of *Cæsar*, but such as had more of
 Formality than Substance. *Giovan Fran-*
cesco also left the Town, after obtaining a
 Pass for himself and all that belonged to
 him, with their Effects. *Trivulzio* now
 finding nothing else to undertake sent Five
 Hundred Lances, and Thirteen Hundred
German Foot under General *Jacob* to re-
 inforce the Garrison of *Verona*, and dis-
 banded the rest of the Foot, except Two
 Thousand Five Hundred *Gascons* com-
 manded by *Molard* and *Mongiron*, which,
 with the Men at Arms, he distributed
 into Quarters in the Towns of the Dutchy
 of *Milan*.

A. D.

1511.

BUT the Disposition of the Pontiff was no way conformable to the Desires and Hopes of the King of *France*; for his Holiness resuming his Courage from the Recalling of the King's Army, which seemed the most likely Means to mollify him, was become the harder and more untractable. And therefore while he was yet at *Rimini*, afflicted with the Gout, and surrounded with so many Difficulties, he acted as if he was a Conqueror, not Conquered, proposing, by means of the same *Scotch* Ambassador, that for the future the Dutchy of *Ferrara* should be subject to the same Tribute which it had paid before its Diminution by Pope *Alexander*: That the Church should keep a Visdomino in *Ferrara*, as the *Venetians* had done before; and that *Lugo*, and the other Towns which *Alfonso d'Este* possessed in *Romagna*, should be yielded up to him. Tho' these Conditions appeared very hard to the King, yet so great was his Desire of Peace with the Pontiff, that he answered he was content to agree to almost all these Demands,

Terms of
Peace de-
manded
by the
Pope.

mands, provided the Affair might be ^{A. D.} transacted with the Consent and Concur- ^{1511.} 
 rence of *Cæsar*.

BUT the Pope, who was now returned to *Rome*, had changed his Mind, his Boldness being augmented not only from his own native Stock of Resolution, but from the Encouragement of the King of *Aragon*. This Prince, being grown more jealous of the King of *France* since his Victory, had on a sudden put a Stop to all those mighty Preparations which he was making for passing in Person into *Africa*, where he was continually at War with the *Moors*, and had recalled *Pietro Navarra* with Three Thousand *Spanish* Foot, and ordered him for the Kingdom of *Naples*, at once providing for the Security of his own Dominions, and giving Encouragement to the Pope to be so much the more refractory and averse to a Peace. His Holiness therefore signified to the King of *France* that he did not chuse Peace, unless at the same time ^{Pope rises} ^{in his} ^{Demands.} Matters were accommodated between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*; that *Alfonso d'*

A. D. *Esse*, besides the first Demands, did also
 1511. reimburse him for his Charges in the
 War; and that the King did oblige him-
 self not to obstruct the Recovery of *Bologna*.
 This City, as in Rebellion against the
 Church, he had already subjected to the
 Ecclesiastic Interdict, and had sent Orders
 to *Romagna* for *Marc' Antonio Colonna* and
Ramazotto to destroy the standing Corn
 in the *Bolognese*; but they had hardly
 entered the Borders of that Territory
 when they were attacked by the People,
 and easily put to Flight.

Cardinal
 of *Achx*
 set at
 liberty.

THE Pope however, overcome by the
 earnest Intreaties of the Cardinals, had,
 at his Return to *Rome*, consented to set
 at liberty the Cardinal of *Achx*, who had
 till that Time been under Custody in the
 Castle of *St. Angelo*, but on condition that
 he should not stir out of the Palace of the
 Vatican till all the Prelates and Officers
 taken in *Bologna* had obtained their Li-
 berty; and then not to depart out of *Rome*
 under the Penalty of Forty Thousand
 Ducats, for which he was to find proper
 Security; but afterwards he consented to
 that

that Cardinal's Return into *France*, under *A. D.*
 the Restriction of the same Penalty from *1511.*
 being present at the Council.

THIS Answer of the Pope greatly shocked the King, and so much the more as he had persuaded himself that his Holiness could not but consent to the Conditions which he himself had proposed. Resolving therefore to prevent him from recovering *Bologna*, he sent thither Four Hundred Lances, and a few Days after he took that City and the *Bentivogli* under his Protection, without receiving from them any Obligation to assist him either with Troops or Money. And knowing that a strict Union with *Cæsar* was more necessary for him than ever, tho' before he was inclined not to furnish him with the Troops which he had promised by the Treaty made with *Goritz*, unless he passed in Person into *Italy*, because it was under that Condition he had agreed to send them, he now ordered the Number of Troops which had been stipulated to march out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, for the Ends proposed,

King of
France
 takes
Bologna
 under his
 Protection

A. D. 1511. under the Command of *Palisse* ; for *Trivulzio*, whom *Cæsar* had demanded, refused the Commission.

Vain Pro-
jects of
*Maximi-
lian*.

CÆSAR was by this time come to *Inspruck*, ardently desirous on one hand of prosecuting the War against the *Venetians*, and on the other distracted in his Mind with a confused Variety of Projects. For he considered that whatever Progress he could make would in the End appear to be of very little Benefit without the Conquest of *Padoua*, which required such great Forces and Preparations that it was in a manner impossible for him to get them together. Sometimes he was inclined to come to an Agreement with the *Venetians*, to which the Catholic King earnestly solicited him ; now again he was hurried away by his own vain Projects, thinking to go in Person to *Rome* with an Army, and, indulging his antient Inclination, seize upon the whole State of the Church ; promising himself, that, besides the *French* Troops, he should be able to lead a mighty Army out of *Germany*. But from his Disabilities and Disorders,

Disorders, his Executions were no way answerable to his Imaginations ; so that promising Day after Day sometimes to come himself in Person, sometimes to send his Troops, he wasted away the Time without entering on any Enterprize. The King of *France* therefore thought it very hard that he should be forced to bear all the Burden alone. And, as a saving Scheme, was conformable to *Lewis's* natural Tenacity, he was easily swayed in opposition to the sound Advice of many of his Council, who represented to him that if *Cæsar* were not powerfully assisted by him, he would in the End join with his Enemies, in which Case, besides his being necessitated to undergo much greater Expences, his own Dominions would be exposed to very great Dangers.

THESE Doubts and Difficulties cooled the Ardor of the Warriors, and repressed the Fury of the temporal Arms ; but the spiritual Weapons were brandished with the greater Heat and Animosity, as well on the Side of the Cardinals who were the Authors of the Council, as on the Part of

A. D. the Pontiff, who was wholly intent on
 1511. } suppressing this Mischief before it made
 any further Progress. A Council, as was
 said before, had been notified and de-
 nounced by the Authority of the King of
 the *Romans*, and of the King of *France*,
 with the Aid and Approbation of the Car-
 dinals of *Santa Croce*, *San Malo*, *Bayeux*,
 and *Cosenza*, and with the manifest Con-
 sent also of the Cardinal of *San Severino*,
 the Agents of the two Kings successively
 assisting at their Debates and Resolutions*.
 These five Cardinals, the Authors of this
 pernicious Measure, to give the greater
 Authority to their Declaration, had added
 to it the Names of other Cardinals, of
 whom *Albret*, a *French* Cardinal, because
 he would not disobey the Commandment
 of his King, though unwillingly, gave his
 Consent; but among others nominated
 by them, Cardinal *Adriano*, and the Car-
 dinal of *Finale*, openly protested that it
 was not done by their Order, nor with
 their Approbation. Since then no more than
 fix

* The Intimation of this Council was affixed at
 the Doors of the Churches of *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and
Rimini, none being found resolute enough, for any
 Reward, to deliver it into the Pope's Hands. *Bembo*.

six Cardinals were concerned in the Affair, the Pontiff hoping that he could induce them voluntarily to desist from so mad an Undertaking, was continually treating with them, offering them his Pardon for past Offences, and such Security as should not leave them the least Reason for apprehending any Molestation; to which the Cardinals, out of Dissimulation, pretended to hearken. This gentle Method, however, did not restrain his Holiness from using more powerful Remedies; and therefore, by the Advice, as it was said, of *Antonio del Monte a San Sovino*, one of the Cardinals of the last Creation at *Ravenna*, being willing to clear himself from the Charge of Negligence, he proclaimed a general Council to be held in the Church of *San Giovanni Laterano* at the City of *Rome*, on the first Day of *May* next ensuing*. By this Proclamation he pretended that he had dissolved the Council convoked by the Cardinals, and that the Power and Authority of the whole College was juridically transferred

A. D.

1511.

Pope summons a
general
Council.

* The Bull for notifying a general Council was expedited about the End of *July*, 1511, and soon after published and notified to the Christian Princes. *Buonac.*

A. D. transferred to the Council summoned by
 1511. himself. The Cardinals, however, allowing that this Pretence would have held good in the Beginning, asserted that, since they had prevented him, the Council called and notified by themselves ought to take Place.

THE Pontiff putting great Trust in the Merits of his Cause, and despairing of being able to reconcile the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who, out of an ambitious Desire to be Pontiff, had been in a great measure the Author of this Disturbance, or the Cardinals of *San Malo* and *Cosenza*, for of the rest he had not yet lost all Hopes of reducing them under his Obedience, published against these three Cardinals a Monitory, in which he enjoined them, under the Penalty of being deprived of the Dignity of the Cardinalship, and of all their Ecclesiastical Benefices, to appear before him within sixty-five Days. And the more easily to dispose them to obey the Monitory, the College of Cardinals sent to them an Auditor of the Rota, to invite them, and intreat them to lay aside

Pope publishes a Monitory against Schismatic Cardinals.

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afide all private Contentions, and return to a Union with the Church, offering to grant them whatever Security they could desire.

A. D.

1511.

THE Pope at the same time, either from a Distrust and Irresolution of Mind, or some other Motive, was constantly attentive to a Negotiation of Peace with the King of *France*, which was managed by the Ambassadors of the King at the Court of *Rome*, and by the *Scotch* Ambassador and the Bishop of *Tivoli*, the Apostolic Nuncio, at the King's Court. On the other Side he treated with the King of *Aragon* and the *Venetians*, of entering into a new Confederacy against the *French*.

Pope's
double
dealing.

AT the same time he procured the Restitution of *Monte Pulciano* to the *Florentines*, not out of Benevolence to that Republic, but because he was apprehensive that the Truce which the *Florentines* had made with the *Senese* being expired, they would call the *French* Troops into *Tuscany* to help them in recovering that Town.

For

A. D.

1511.

For though the Pope had opposed the Recovery of *Monte Pulciano* by the Republic of *Florence*, and to prevent it had sent to *Siena*, *Giovanni Vitelli* with an Hundred Men at Arms hired by himself and the *Senese*, and *Guido Vaina* with an Hundred light Horſe, yet being afterwards better adviſed, and conſidering that the more he augmented the Difficulties that obſtructed the Recovery of that Place, the more he ſhould incite the *Florentines* to call in foreign Aſſiſtance, he reſolved, in order to prevent the King of *France* from taking Occaſion to ſend a Body of Troops into a Place ſo near to *Rome*, to obviate the Danger by a contrary Proceeding, with the Conſent alſo of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who was under the ſame Apprehenſions, which were artfully promoted by the *Florentines*. Much Time was ſpent in this Negotiation, for it often happens that Affairs of leſſer Moment are involved in as great Difficulties and Intricacies as thoſe of the greateſt Importance. *Pandolfo*, in order to avoid the Hatred of the *Senese*, choſe to proceed in ſuch a Manner as to make it appear that there was no other Remedy to ſecure his Country

Country against a War, and that this was the only Way to preserve the Friendship of the Pontiff. It was the Desire of his Holiness and *Pandolfo* that the *Florentines* and *Senese* should at the same time enter into a Confederacy for the Defence of their States; and on the other Hand they were apprehensive that the People of *Monte Pulciano* getting Notice of this Treaty would prevent them, by surrendering themselves voluntarily to the *Florentines* in order to obtain their Favour; and that the Republic of *Florence*, on Discovery of their Intentions, would shew a Reluctancy to such an Alliance. *Giovanni Vitello* was ordered to take up his Quarters in *Monte Pulciano*, and the Pope sent thither *Jacopo Simonetta*, Auditor of the Rota, who a few Years after was made a Cardinal, in order to accommodate the Affair. Thus it happened at last that a League was made between the *Florentines* and *Senese* for Twenty-five Years, and at the same time *Monte Pulciano*, by the Mediation of *Simonetta*, being confirmed in the Possession of its antient Privileges and Exemptions, returned

A. D.

1511.

*Monte
Pulciano
restored
to the Flo-
rentines.*

A. D. returned under the Dominion of the *Flo-*
 1511. *rentines.*

Progress
of the War
in Lom-
bardy.

THE military Operations between *Cæsar* and the *Venetians* had, for some Months, been managed with less Vigour than usual; for the *Germans* not abounding in Men, and deficient in Money, thought they did mighty Service in preserving *Verona*; and the *Venetian* Army, not being strong enough to undertake the Siege of that City, lay encamped between *Soave* and *Lunigo*, whence a Party of them one Night made an Excursion, and burnt up a great Part of the standing Harvest of the *Veronese* on both Sides of the *Adice*; but they were attacked in their Retreat, and lost Three Hundred Foot; yet on Advice of the Approach of *la Palisse* to *Verona* with Twelve Hundred Lances and Eight Thousand Foot, the *Venetians* retired towards *Vicenza* and *Lignago*, and posted themselves very advantageously, and as it were in an Island by Means of certain Waters, and some Cuts which they had made in the Banks. In this Encampment they did not continue many Days; for *la Palisse* being

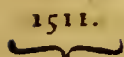
being arrived with Part of his Forces at *Verona* would not wait for the rest, but A. D.
1511. marched out, accompanied by the *Germans* towards the Enemy, who hastily quitting their strong Camp retired in manner of a Flight to *Lunigo*, and afterwards, under the same Terror, abandoning *Vicenza* and all the other Towns, with the Polesine of *Rovigo*, a Prey sometimes to the *Venetians*, sometimes to the Duke of *Ferrara*, distributed themselves into *Padoua* and *Trevigi*. For the Defence of these Cities many young Noblemen were arrived there from *Venice*, in the same manner as they had before done at *Padoua**. The *French* and *German* Army sacked *Lunigo*, and *Vicenza* surrendering to them became as usual the miserable Prey of the strongest in the Field.

BUT all Efforts, and Acquisitions were of little Importance, with regard to a Decision of the War, as long as the *Venetians* preserved *Padoua* and *Trevigi*; for by the Conveniency

* To *Padoua* were sent twenty Noblemen, and ten to *Trevigi*, each attended by ten Persons on Foot; and the Commons sent the like Number to each Town; every one attended by three Foot for the Guard of the Gates. *Bembo*.

A. D.

1511.



Vain Pro-
jects of
*Maxi-
milian.*

Conveniency of these Cities, as soon as the *French* Auxiliaries left the *Germans*, they easily recovered the Places they had lost. The Army therefore, after this Progress, halted several Days at *Ponte a Barberano*, waiting for the Coming or Determination of *Cæsar*. That Prince was arrived between *Trent* and *Rovere*, and being at once busily employed according to his Custom, in the Chace of wild Beasts, and in sending Recruits to his Army, promised to be at *Montagnana*, purposing sometimes to undertake the Siege of *Padoua*, sometimes that of *Trevigi*, and then again to go and seize upon *Rome*. But as his fickle and inconstant Temper, in Conjunction with his extreme Poverty, were the Occasion of many Difficulties in all his Enterprises, he would have found himself no less embarrassed in his *Roman* Expedition than in the Execution of his other Projects. For to go to *Rome* with so great a Body of *French* appeared incompatible with his Security as well as his Dignity; and the Danger of *Verona*, which might be attacked by the *Venetians* during his Absence, would oblige him to leave a strong Garrison in that City. Besides, the King
of

of *France* made a Difficulty of sending his Troops at so remote a Distance from the Dutchy of *Milan*, because his Hopes of coming to an Agreement with the *Swiss* were almost vanished. For, besides the Inclination of that People to comply with the Desires of the Pontiff, the *French* Ambassador to the Cantons was acquainted in plain Terms that the Nation of the *Swiss* could not, without the deepest Concern, bear to see the Ruin of the *Venetians*, on account of the Conveniencies and Advantages resulting from the Harmony between the two Republics.

BUT all these grand Projects, and lofty Discourses of *Cæsar* produced at last, according to his old Custom, Effects unworthy of his Name. For after he had recruited his Army with Three Hundred *German* Men at Arms, given Audience on the other Part to the *Venetian* Ambassadors, with whom he was continually treating, and caused *la Palisse* to come first to *Lungara* near *Vicenza*, and afterwards to *Santa Croce*, he ordered him to go and take *Castel Nuovo*, a Pass beneath *Scala* towards

A. D. *Friuli*, and twenty Miles from *Feltro*, in

1511.

order to facilitate his Descent on that Side. *La Palisse* therefore marched to *Monte Bellona*, ten Miles from *Trevigi*, where he detached five Hundred Horse and two Thousand Foot to open the Pass of *Castel Nuovo*; in which they succeeded, and advanced to *Scala*. At this Time the *Venetian* light Horse, which scoured all the Country without Opposition, routed near *Marostico* about Seven Hundred Foot with a good Number of *French* and *Italian* Horse. These Troops, in order to secure their Passage to the Army, were marching from *Verona* to *Soave* to join Three Hundred *French* Lances that were come back from *La Palisse*, and had halted at that Place waiting for his Orders. Though the *French* and *Germans* had the better in the Beginning of the Conflict, and *Guido Rangone*, who commanded the *Venetians*, was taken Prisoner, yet a Multitude of Peasants pouring in to the Assistance of the Troops of the Republic rendered them at last victorious; about Four Hundred of the *French* Foot being killed, and their Commanders *Mongiron* and *Rochemare* taken Prisoners.

French
routed by
the *Vene-*
tians.

BUT

BUT now the Measures that had been concerted were prosecuted with more and more Coldness and Remissness; wherefore the King of *France* perceiving that the Preparations of *Cæsar* were no way correspondent to his Offers and Promises withdrew himself farther from the Confines of *Italy*, and returned from *Dauphine*, where he had resided many Days, to *Blois*. And *Cæsar* who was retired to *Trent*, with a Resolution never to go any more in Person into the Army, instead of seizing upon all that the *Venetians* possessed on the *Terra Firma*, or at least upon *Rome* and the whole State of the Church, now designed that the *Germans* should make an Invasion into *Friuli* and the *Trevisano*, not so much with an Intent to distress the *Venetians*, as to exact Contributions of Money from the Inhabitants of the Towns to save themselves from being plundered. And that his own Forces might meet with no Hindrance, he proposed that the *French* should advance forwards, and put Two Hundred Lances into *Verona*, where a Pestilence raged; and as he had formed a Design to

A. D.

1511.

invade *Friuli*, he was obliged to draw all his Forces out of that City, except those which were appointed to guard the Castles. *La Palisse* agreed to all these Measures, and being joined by General *Aubigni* with the Three Hundred Lances that were at *Soave*, he encamped by the River *Piave*. The *Germans*, for the greater Security of *Verona*, left also Two Hundred Horse at *Soave*, who being extremely negligent, and without Scouts or Guard, were one Night almost all killed or taken by Four Hundred light Horse and as many Foot of the *Venetians*.

Friuli subdued by the *Germans*.


ALL this Year the War had been prosecuted in *Friuli*, *Istria*, and the Parts about *Triesti* and *Fiume*, with various Success, as usual, by Land, and also by Sea with small Vessels; these unhappy Countries being ravaged by both Parties in their Turns. After this the *German* Army entered *Friuli*, and presented itself before *Udine*, the Capital of the Province, and the Residence of the *Venetian* Lieutenantcy, who cowardly betaking themselves to Flight the Town immediately surrendered to.

to the *Germans*, as did afterwards, in the *A. D.*
 same Career of Success, the whole Coun- ^{1511.}
 try of *Friuli*, each Town being taxed at a
 Sum of Money in proportion to its Ability.
 There remained *Gradisca*, seated on the
 River *Lisontio*, in which was *Luigi Mo-*
cenigo, Proveditor of *Friuli*, with Three
 Hundred Horse, and a good Number of
 Foot. But a Battery being raised against
 the Place, and an Assault given, tho' the
 Besiegers were repulsed, the Town was
 surrendered at the Importunity of the Sol-
 diers, and the Proveditor remained a
 Prisoner.

FROM *Friuli* the *Germans* returned to
 join *Palisse*, who was encamped about
 five Miles from *Trevigi*, and after this
 Conjunction approached that City, which
Cæsar was very importunate with him to
 besiege. But the General finding the
 Town well fortified on all Sides, and being
 in want of Pioneers, Ammunition, and
 other necessary Provisions, he laid aside all
 Hopes of Success in such an Undertaking.
 A few Days after *Palisse* put himself on *French*
 his March to return into the Dutchy of *Forces re-*
 called.

A. D.

1511.


Milan by Orders of the King his Master who was more and more apprehensive of the new Confederacies and Movements of the *Swiss*. The *Venetian* Stradiotti were continually pressing upon the Rear of the Enemy in their Retreat, and were in Hopes of doing them considerable Damage, especially in their Passage of the Rivers *Brenta* and *Adice*. But they marched through all the Country in Safety, having, before they passed the *Brenta*, surpris'd Two Hundred *Venetian* Horse quartered without *Padoua*, and taken *Pietro da Lunghera* their Commander. The Departure of the *French* General left the *Germans* in great Perplexity; for as they could not prevail with him to leave Three Hundred more *French* Lances for the Security of *Verona*, they were obliged to retire and abandon to the Enemy all the Conquests of their Summer's Campaign. The *Venetian* Forces therefore, which, since the Death of *Lucio Malvezzo*, were commanded by *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, immediately recovered *Vicenza*, and afterwards entering *Friuli*, demolished *Cremonsa*, and recovered the whole Country except *Gradisca*, which

Venetians
 recover
Friuli.

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which they attacked in vain. But a few ^{A. D.} Days after some Companies of Foot from ^{1511.} the County of *Tirol* made themselves Masters of *Cadoro*, and plundered *Bel-lona*.

THUS ended the Campaign for the present Summer, which produced none but slight and transitory Effects, without Advantage, tho' not without Disgrace to the Name of *Cæsar*, and raising the Reputation of the *Venetians*, who being attacked for these two successive Years by the Armies of *Cæsar* and of the King of *France*, remained Masters at last of the same Forces, and of the same Dominions. But tho' these Events tended directly against *Cæsar*, they were in effect much more prejudicial to the King of *France*, because, while he stood perhaps too much in fear of the Prosperity of *Cæsar*, and of the Increase of his Power, or built his Measures upon false Foundations, not knowing the Dangers that were now near at Hand, or else his Prudence being blinded by his Avarice, he declined to furnish *Cæsar* with such Assistance as might give

Ill Con-
duct of
the King
of *France*.

R 4

him

A. D.

1511.

him Hopes of obtaining the desired Success; and by this cautious and niggardly Management he gave Occasion to that Prince, and in a manner necessitated him, to listen to those Counsellors who were always persuading him to break off his Alliance with *France*, and at the same time preserve the *Venetians* in such a State, as to enable them to join with greater Forces in confederacy with those Potentates who desired to humble the Power of the King.

THESE Counsels had such an Effect that it began already to appear, by some Signs, that *Cæsar* was altering his Sentiments, and particularly as to the Affair of the Council, in which he was perceived to be grown cool, especially since the Publication of the *Lateran* Council; for he never sent to the Council of *Pisa*, according to his often repeated Promises, any *German* Prelates as Representatives of *Germany*, nor Deputies to represent his own Person, and assist in his Stead; nor was he in the least incited by the Example of the King of *France*, who had appointed four

Council
of *Pisa*
neglected
by *Cæsar*.

four and twenty Bishops to go to *Pisa* in the common Name, or as Representatives of the *Gallican* Church, and had ordered all the Prelates of his Kingdom either to go thither in Person, or to send their Proxies. But either because he wanted some Excuse for his Neglect, or because it was his real Desire, he began to make Instances that, for the greater Conveniency of the *German* Prelates, and because he intended, as he gave Assurances, to assist in Person, the Council summoned to meet at *Pisa* should be transferred to *Mantoua*, *Verona*, or *Trent*. This Demand was, for various Reasons, disliked by all the Cardinals except the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who was pleased with it, because he was ardently desirous of ascending to the Pontificate, for which End he had sowed this Discord, and was in hopes that, by the Favour of *Cæsar*, in whose Benevolence he reposed great Confidence, he should easily satisfy his Ambition *.

As

* This Cardinal of *Santa Croce* was called *Bernardino Catusjale*. He was by Nature ambitious beyond Measure, and greatly indulged his aspiring Hopes from the Craft and Flatteries of Cardinal *Sanjeverino*, who had pro-

A. D.

1511.

Cæsar addressed by
the discontented
Cardinals.

As the Cause of the Council was but weak and lame, and unable to support itself without the Authority of *Cæsar*, the Cardinal of *Sanseverino* was, by common Consent, deputed to wait upon his Majesty, and humbly to intreat him to give Orders for putting the Prelates and Proxies in Motion, as had been so often promised, and to engage their Faith that when the Council was once opened at *Pisa* they would transfer it to what Place soever he himself should chuse, demonstrating that to remove it sooner would be highly prejudicial to the common Cause, and especially because it was of the last Importance to prevent the Council which had been proclaimed by the Pope. The Cardinal was attended by his Brother *Galeazzo*, who was to make the same Instances in the Name of the King of *France*. The good Fortune of *Galeazzo* was the Reverse of the ill Fortune of his first Master *Lodovico Sforza*, for he had been honoured by

promised him the Popedom, and soothed his Imagination with the pleasing Prospect of arriving at the Height of Glory with the supreme Dignity. *Giovio* in his Life of Pope *Leo X*.

by the King with the Office of Grand Shield-bearer. But the principal Business A. D.
1511.

on which he was sent was to endeavour to fix the Resolutions of *Cæsar*, by making him several Offers, and proposing new Schemes; for the Inconstancy and Irresolution of that Prince kept the King in perpetual Suspense and Jealousy, tho' he was at the same time not without Hopes of concluding a Peace with the Pope. A Negotiation for this Purpose was carried on at *Rome* under the Management of the Cardinals of *Nantes* and *Strigonia*; and in *France* by the *Scotch* Bishop, and by the Bishop of *Tivoli*, and was in such Forwardness that almost all the Conditions were settled, the Bishop of *Tivoli* having received full Powers from the Pontiff to bring it to Perfection. But then in the Bishop's Commission were inserted certain Limitations, which gave no small Umbrage that the Pope's Intentions did not correspond with his Words, especially as it was known that he was at the same time carrying on a Negotiation with several Potentates entirely contrary to this Treaty.

A. D.

1511.

Pope dangerously
ill and re-
covers.

IN this dubious Juncture a sudden Accident that happened to the Pope had like to have put an End to all Negotiations, and extirpated at once all the impending Evils. His Holiness was taken ill on the 17th Day of *August*, and on the fourth Day of his Illness fell into a very strong Fainting-Fit, so that for some Hours he was thought by the Attendants to be dead. Hence it being every where reported that the Pope had departed this Life, many of the absent Cardinals prepared to return to *Rome*, and among the rest those who had called the Council. Nor were the Commotions in *Rome* less fervid than they usually are on the Death of the Pontiffs, but rather there was Reason to apprehend that Fewel was preparing for greater Com-bustions. For *Pompeo Colonna*, Bishop of *Rieti*, and *Antimo Savello*, two factious young Men of the *Roman* Nobility, assembled the People in the Capitol, and with most seditious Speeches endeavoured to enflame them with an eager Desire to set themselves at Liberty. But while they were thus labouring with the most immoderate

derate Ambition to excite the *Romans* A. D. 1511
 to an open Rebellion, the Pope recovered out of his dangerous Fit, and finding himself somewhat relieved, though there were yet but very small Hopes of his Life, on the next Day, in the Presence of the Cardinals assembled in the Form of a Consistory, he absolved his Nephew from the Murder committed on the Person of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, not in the ordinary Way of Justice, as it had before been intended, the Shortness of the Time not admitting of it, but as a Penitent by virtue of the Apostolic Grace and Indulgence*. In the same Consistory he took Care that the Election of his Successor should proceed according to the Canons, and willing to prevent others from

* He appointed also that, in Case of his Death, the Cities of *Bologna* and *Ferrara* should be freed from their Interdicts, Excommunications and Curses. He also bequeathed to his Daughter *Felice*, Wife to *Gio. Giordano Orfino* Twelve Thousand Ducats ready Money, and the like Sum to his Nephew the Duke of *Urbino*. *Bemba* says an Hundred and Twenty Pound of Gold to each, and the same to *Nicolo della Rovere* his Sister's Son; and that he gave *Pesaro* in Fee to the Duke of *Urbino*, and to his Heirs from Generation to Generation, only paying a small yearly Tribute to the *Roman Pontiffs*.

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from ascending to so great a Dignity by the same Steps on which he climbed to it himself, he ordered a Bull to be published full of horrible Pains and Penalties against those who by Money or any other Reward procured themselves to be elected Popes, disannulling an Election made by Simony, and opening a very easy Way for any Cardinal to oppose it. This Constitution had been pronounced by the Pope when he was in *Bologna*, being provoked against some Cardinals, who were openly soliciting others of their Brethren for their Promises to assist them for obtaining the Popedom after his Death. From that Day he grew very visibly better, which proceeded either from the great Robustness of his Constitution, or because he was reserved by the Fates to be the Author and principal Cause of longer and greater Calamities to *Italy*. For his Recovery could not be ascribed to the Art or Remedies of the Physicians, since he would never be ruled by them in any Respect, but in the greatest Height of his Disorder would eat

raw

raw Apples, and other Things contrary to their Precepts*.

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THE Pope was no sooner out of Danger of Death than he returned to his wonted Labours and Schemes, continuing to treat of Peace with the King of *France*, and at the same time negotiating with the King of *Aragon* and the *Venetian* Senate an offensive League against the *French*; and tho' his Inclinations were bent more upon War than Peace, he seemed on certain Occasions to be in Suspense by the Multiplicity of Reasons which offered themselves on both Sides of the Question. What inclined him to War, besides his inveterate Hatred of the King of *France*, and his not being able to obtain a Peace on all the Conditions he desired, was the Persuasions of the King of *Aragon*, who apprehended more than ever that the King of *France*, as soon as he had accommodated Matters with the Pope, would upon the first Opportunity attack the Kingdom of *Naples*. And to give the greater Weight to his Counsels.

* *Gradinico*, who wrote the Diary, says more particularly that Pope *Julius* in the Height of his Fever would eat a Fish, and drink strong *Greek* Wines.

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Counsels he had ordered that, besides the first Armada which he had passed over from *Africa* to *Italy* under the Command of *Pietro Navarra*, another should be got ready in *Spain*; on board of which were, as it was said, embarked Five Hundred Men at Arms, Six Hundred Jenneteers, and Three Thousand Foot; a Force which added to the others, both for Number and Goodness of Troops, was by no means contemptible. That King however, with his usual Artifices, pretended that he was more desirous of a War against the *Moors*, and that he was not diverted from that pious and useful Work, either by Self-Interest or by any other Consideration, than the Devotion which he had always borne to the Apostolic See; but not being in a Condition to maintain such a Number of Soldiers of himself, he required the Assistance of the Pope and the *Venetian* Senate: And that he might the more easily induce them to condescend to his Request, his Forces that were all gone ashore in the Island of *Capri* near the City of *Naples*, made a Show of preparing themselves for passing over to *Africa*.

THE

THE immoderate Demands of the King of *Aragon* astonished the Pope, who abominated his Artifices, and was not without Suspensions of him, because he knew that he was continually putting the King of *France* in hopes of his coming into contrary Measures. The Pontiff was satisfied that the *Venetians* would conform themselves to his Will, but he was no less sensible that their Treasury was greatly exhausted by a very burdensome War, and that the Senate would chuse rather to attend at present to the Defence of their own Territory, than to engage anew in a War, which could not be supported without a vast and almost intolerable Expence. He was in Hopes that the *Swiss*, on account of the general Inclination of the Populace, would declare against the King of *France*; but as he could not assure himself of it, it did not appear adviseable to expose himself to open and manifest Dangers in Reliance on uncertain Hopes, since he was not ignorant that they had never broken off their Negotiations with the King of *France*, and that many of their

Pope debates with himself in the present Juncture.

VOL. V. S leading

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leading Men, who reaped vast Profit from their Friendship with the *French*, used all their Endeavours that in the next Diet of the Cantons, which was at hand, their Confederacy with that King should be renewed. Of the Inclinations of *Cæsar*, tho' that Prince was earnestly solicited by the Catholic King, and had a natural Antipathy to the *French*, he stood more in Fear than Hope, knowing the great Offers newly made him to encourage him to prosecute the War against the *Venetians* and himself, and that the King of *France* was more capable of enlarging and performing them than any other Prince. He knew if *Cæsar* should join with the King he would render the Council very formidable by his Authority, and by a real and hearty Conjunction of his Arms with the Forces and Money of *France*, considering also the Conveniencies and Advantages of both the Princes from the Situation of their Dominions, would not leave his Holiness the least Hopes of Victory, which it was very difficult to obtain against the King of *France* alone. He supported his Spirits with Hopes that the King of *England* would.

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would engage in a War with the Kingdom of *France*, induced by the Counsels and Persuasions of the Catholic King his Father-in-law, and by the Authority of the Apostolic See, which at that Time was highly respected in that Kingdom, and in the Name of which his Holiness had with the most fervent Prayers supplicated that King's Assistance against the King of *France*, as an Usurper and Oppressor of the Church. But there were much stronger Inducements from the natural Hatred of the King and People of *England* to the Name of the *French**, from the Youth of that Prince, and the vast Treasure left him by his Father, which was reported, by Authors of no mean Credit, to be inestimable. These Incentives kindled in the Heart of the young King, who was but newly come to the Crown, and had never seen any thing but Prosperity in his Family, an eager Desire of reviving the Glory of his

S 2 Ancestors,

* It is easier, says *Polydore Virgil* in his History of *England*, for a black Man to become white, than for the *French* heartily to love the *English*; or, on the other Side, for one born in *England* to love one born in *France*; and this Enmity arising from their Contests for Power and Dominion, is nourished and increased by the Bloodshed and Slaughters on each Side.

A. D. 1511. Ancestors, who intitled themselves Kings of *France*, and for several Ages victoriously carried on terrible Wars against that Kingdom, having not only for a long Time been in Possession of *Guyenne* and *Normandy*, rich and powerful Provinces, and, in a Battle fought near *Poiëtiers*, taken *John* King of *France*, with his two Sons, and many of the principal Lords, Prisoners, but also, with the greatest Part of the Kingdom, made themselves Masters of the City of *Paris*, the Metropolis of *France*; and such was the Rapidity and Terror of their Success, that it was firmly believed that if their King *Henry V.* had not been cut off by a natural Death in the Flower of his Age, and in the Course of his Victories, he would have conquered the whole Kingdom of *France*. The new King revolving in his Mind the Memory of these Victories, was transported beyond Measure with a Desire of entering upon Action, though his Father had upon his Death-bed expressly recommended to him above all things to live in Peace with the King of *France*, which was the only Way for a King of *England* to reign in Happiness

ness and Security. Now if the *English* A. D. 1511. should make War upon the King of *France* at the same time when he was vigorously attacked on another Quarter, it must be acknowledged that such a Diversi^on would have been of vast Moment, since it would be wounding that Prince in the very Bowels of his Kingdom, and the Memory of past Transactions had made the Name of the *English* extremely dreaded by the *French*. The Pontiff, however, could not assure himself of the Faith of a Barbarian, and besides his Country lay so remote, that he could not securely rest his Measures on this Assistance. Such were the Hopes of the Pope, and these the Limits within which they were bounded.

ON the other Side the King of *France*, abhorring a War with the Church, was desirous of Peace, by which he would not only remove the Enmity of the Pope, but also free himself from the importunate Demands of *Cæsar*, and the Necessity of being subservient to his Will. He made no Difficulty of disannulling the Council of *Pisa*, which he had set on foot purely with a

Deliberations of the King of France on the Situation of Affairs.

S 3

Design

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Design to stimulate the Pope, out of Fear, to condescend to a Peace, provided that he pardoned the Cardinals and all the rest who had either consented or adhered to that Project. But on the other hand he was held in Suspense and Perplexity by the Demand of the Restitution of *Bologna*, that City by its Situation lying very convenient for molesting his Dominions; for he doubted whether the Pope would embrace a Peace with Sincerity, and with a Mind disposed to observe it, if Opportunities returned for breaking it, or rather designed only to free himself from the imminent Danger of a Council and an Invasion. As to *Cæsar*, he was in Hopes that there wanted nothing more to confirm him in his good Disposition, than to make good his Offers by the Greatness of his Efforts, since that Prince had hitherto treated with him, not as one from whom he was fallen off, but as a Confederate, about their common Concerns, and had advised him, among other Things, not to consent that *Bologna*, a City of so great Importance, should return under the Power of the Pontiff. He was not wholly distrustful of the
Kings

Kings of *Aragon* and *England*, whatever Umbrage might be taken at the Proceedings, which now almost manifested themselves, of the former of these Princes, and at the Reports which were spread abroad of the Inclinations of the other ; tho' their Ambassadors had joined together in intreating his Majesty, at first with modest Speeches, and under Colour of friendly Offices, and afterwards in more earnest Instances, that he would be pleased to direct the Cardinals and Prelates of his Kingdom to afford their Presence at the *Late-ran* Council, and to grant his Permission that the Church should be re-instated in Possession of her City of *Bologna*. For on one hand the *English* Ambassador pretended that his Master had no other Design than to persevere in the Confederacy which he had made with him, and many of his own Council assured him of the same ; and therefore he believed that he had nothing to fear from that Prince. And on the other hand such were the Arts and Dis-simulation of the *Aragonian*, that the King reposing less Faith in Facts than in Words, by which that King assured him that he

S 4

would

A. D.

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A. D. 1511. would never take up Arms against him, suffered himself to be deluded into a Persuasion that he would never join with his Enemies in open War against him, as he was already joined with them in secret Counsels and Resolutions. *Lewis* was infatuated with these vain Opinions to such a Degree, that when some leading Men among the *Swiss*, who were in his Interest, had given him Hopes of reconciling himself with that Nation, if he granted their Demands of augmenting their Pensions, he again obstinately refused it, saying he did not intend to be mulcted. And farther, making Use of rough Means where gentle Remedies were necessary, he prohibited the Exportation of Provisions out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, in hopes of constraining the *Swiss*, who from the Barrenness of their Country must be great Sufferers by such a Prohibition, to renew the Confederacy on the antient Conditions.

Council
of *Pisa*
opened.

IN the mean time came on the First of *September*, the Day appointed for giving a Beginning to the Council of *Pisa*, when the Proxies of the Cardinals being arrived
in

in that City made several Acts, in the A. D.
1511.
Name of their Constituents, relating to the Opening of the Session*. This Transaction highly provoked the Indignation of the Pope against the *Florentines* for consenting that the Conventicle (for so he always called it) should be begun within their Dominions; and he declared that both the Cities of *Florence* and *Pisa* were become liable to the Ecclesiastic Interdict by virtue of the Bull of the Council called by himself, in which it was contained that whosoever favoured the *Pisan* Conventicle should be excommunicated and interdicted, and subjected to all the Pains and Penalties ordained by the Severity of the Laws against Schismatics and Heretics. Then threatening them also with temporal Arms, he appointed the Cardinal *de' Medici* Legate of *Perugia*; and the Cardinal of *Regino*, Legate of *Bologna*, dying a few Days after, he

* The Cardinals who were the Pope's Adversaries sent three Proxies to *Pisa*, pursuant to their own Way of Reasoning, by which they concluded that since the Council had been proclaimed to be held in that City, it was necessary to sit there two or three Times. These Proxies made some Acts relating to Prevention and the Corroboration of their Rights; but proceeded no farther because, as *Euonaco* says, they were forbidden by the *Florentines*.

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Divisions
among the
*Floren-
tines.*

he translated him to that Legation, with a View that, by placing a Pretender to that State with so great an Authority near their Borders, they might take Occasion to fall into Distractions and Jealousies amongst themselves, which he hoped might easily succeed from the present Circumstances of that City. For, besides that some desired the Return of the Family of the *Medici*, Discords and Divisions, the antient Bane of *Florence*, prevailed among some of the most considerable Citizens, and were occasioned at that time by the Greatness and Authority of the Gonfaloniere, which some, out of Ambition and Emulation, knew not how to bear. Some were dissatisfied at his arrogating to himself in the public Resolutions more perhaps than belonged to his Place, to the Exclusion of others whose Quality entitled them to a Share. It grieved them to see the Government of the City constituted in two Extremes, that is to say, in a public Head and a popular Council; and that there wanted, what is required in the right Institution of a Republic, a Senate duly ordained, by means of which, besides its serving as a Tem-
perament

perament between both these Extremes, the principal and best Citizens might be promoted to a more honourable Degree in the Commonwealth; and that the Gonfaloniere, who had been elected principally to give Orders for this Purpose had, in this Respect, either out of Ambition or groundless Jealousies, acted quite the contrary Part. But what these Citizens desired, though reasonable, was not however of such Importance as that it ought to dispose their Minds to Divisions, considering that even without it they obtained an honourable Place, and the Management of public Affairs was not in effect transacted without them; but it unhappily proved the Origin and principal Cause of most grievous Calamities to that City. From these Foundations arose the Division between the Citizens, and it appearing to the Adversaries of the Gonfaloniere that he and his Brother the Cardinal of *Volterra* had a Dependance on the King of *France*, and relied on his Friendship, they opposed with all their Might those Resolutions which were to pass in favour of that King, and were desirous that the Pontiff should prevail. To the

A. D. 1511. the same Principles also it was owing that the Name of the Family of the *Medici* began to be less odious in the City ; for those great Citizens who did not desire their Return, yet, out of Envy to the Gonfaloniere, would no longer concern themselves in persecuting them, nor in preventing, as they had done at other times, their Fellow-Citizens from holding Correspondence with them ; and by thus making a Show, in order to humble the Gonfaloniere, as if they stood upon good Terms with the *Medici*, they brought themselves under some Suspicion that they really desired the Aggrandizement of that Family. Hence it came to pass that not only their true Friends, who were of little Importance, began to entertain Hopes of a Change, but also many young Men of the Nobility, incited either by their own Prodigality, some private Quarrel, or an ambitious Desire of domineering over others, longed for a Change in the State by Means of their Return. And this Disposition had for several Years been nourished and increased by the Cardinal *de Medici* with mighty Cunning and Artfulness : For after the Death of *Piero* his

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his Brother, whose Name was had in *A. D.*
 Fear and Abhorrence, pretending that he *1511.*
 never designed to intermeddle in the
 Affairs of *Florence*, nor aspire to the an-
 tient Greatness of his Family, he always
 received with the highest Caresses all the
Florentines that came to *Rome*, and readily
 fatigued himself in serving them in their
 Business. And he was no less disposed to
 do any kind Office for those who had
 been professed Enemies to his Brother
 than for others, laying all the Fault upon
 him, as if all Malice and all Offences
 were terminated by his Death. By this
 Manner of Proceeding, in which he con-
 tinued several Years, accompanied with
 the Character which he had obtained in
 the Court of *Rome*, of being naturally
 liberal, obsequious and kind to every
 Body, he had rendered himself accepta-
 ble to many in *Florence*; and therefore
Julius, who was desirous of changing
 that Government, took no imprudent
 Step in appointing him to that Legation.

THE *Florentines* appealed from the
 Pope's Interdict, not naming in their
 Ap-

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1511.

*Floren-
tines ap-
peal from
the Inter-
dict.*

Appeal the *Pisan* Council, but, to give him less Offence, only to a Holy Council of the universal Church; and acting as if the Effects of the Interdict were suspended by the Appeal, the Priests of the four principal Churches were constrained, by Orders of the supreme Magistrate, to celebrate divine Service publicly in their Churches. Hence the Division of the Citizens became the more easily discovered, since every one was left at liberty to observe or despise the Interdict.

King of
France
refuses
Terms of
Peace
with the
Pope.

THE Ambassadors of the Kings of *Aragon* and *England* now renewed their Instances with the King of *France*, offering him Peace with the Pope on the Restitution of *Bologna* to the Church, and the Appearance of the Cardinals, for whom they would engage the Pope's Pardon, at the *Lateran* Council. But the King, being restrained from giving his Consent by his Regard to *Bologna*, answered that he did not defend a City that was contumacious and rebellious against the Church, under whose Dominion and Obedience it had continued very many Years

Years before the Pontificate of *Julius*, A. D.
1511. who ought not to aim at more Authority than his Predecessors enjoyed while they held it. And as for the Council of *Pisa*, it had been set on foot with a very laudable and pious Intention of reforming the notorious and intolerable Disorders in the Church, which, without Danger of a Schism or Division, might be restored to its antient Splendor, if the Pope, as it was just and fit, would give his Sanction to that Council. To this he added, that the Pope's restless and quarrelsome Disposition, and his eager Inclination to Wars, had constrained him to enter into an Obligation for protecting *Bologna*; and therefore he was resolved to defend it, for the Sake of his Honour, as heartily as he would defend the City of *Paris*.

THE Pope therefore casting away all Thoughts of Peace, and incited by his inveterate Malice and Passions, by his Desire of recovering *Bologna*, by his Disdain and Fear of a Council, and lastly by an Apprehension that if he deferred any longer to come to a Resolution he should
be

A. D.
1511.
{
 be abandoned by all, for the *Spanish* Troops had already begun to embark at *Capri*, with a seeming Intention of passing to *Africa*, resolved to sign the League which he had negotiated with the Catholic King and the *Venetian* Senate, which was solemnly published on the fifth of *October*, in the Presence of the Pope and all the Cardinals, at the Church of *Santa Maria del Popolo*. It imported that the Parties concerned entered into this Confederacy, principally with a View to preserve the Union of the Church, and for the Extirpation of the Schism of which it stood in imminent Danger from the *Pisan* Conventicle; and for the Recovery of the City of *Bologna* immediately appertaining to the Apostolic See, and of all the other Towns and Places that either mediately or immediately belonged to it, under which Meaning was comprehended *Ferrara*: Whoever should oppose them in the Execution of these Designs, or endeavour to obstruct their Progress (in which Words they had an Eye to the King of *France*) they would act against them with a powerful Army, in order to drive

drive them quite out of *Italy*. For these *A. D.*
 Purposes the Pontiff was obliged by this *1511.*
 Confederacy to furnish Four Hundred
 Men at Arms, Five Hundred light Horse,
 and Six Thousand Foot; the *Venetian*
 Senate Eight Hundred Men at Arms,
 One Thousand light Horse, and Eight
 Thousand Foot; and the King of *Aragon*
 Twelve Hundred Men at Arms, One
 Thousand light Horse, and Ten Thousand
Spanish Foot, towards the Maintenance
 of which the Pope was to contribute
 during the War Twenty Thousand Ducats
 each Month, the *Venetians* the like Sum,
 advancing Two Months present Pay,
 within which Time the *Spanish* Forces
 were to arrive in *Romagna*, or wherever
 the confederate Army was to rendezvouze.
 The King of *Aragon* obliged himself to
 man out Twelve light Gallies, and Four-
 teen were to be fitted out by the *Vene-*
tians, who were at the same time to
 begin the War against the King of *France*
 in *Lombardy*; and Don *Raymond* of *Car-*
dona, a *Catalonian*, and then Viceroy of
Naples, was to be General of the Army.
 If any Towns should be conquered in

A. D.

1511.

Lombardy, which had belonged to the *Venetians*, they were to be determined by the Pope, who should without Delay, by a separate Writing, adjudge them to be restored to their former Possessors. To *Cæsar* was reserved Liberty of acceding to this Confederacy, and also to the King of *England*; to the first with uncertain Hopes of separating him at last from the *French Alliance*; and to the other by express Consent of the Cardinal of *York*, who had constantly assisted at the Conferences. Soon after the Conclusion of the Treaty died *Gieronimo Donato*, the *Venetian Ambassador*, who by his Prudence and Dexterity had greatly ingratiated himself with the Pope, which he improved by doing signal Services to his Country during his Embassy.

Various
Opinions
of the
new
League.

THIS Confederacy, made by the Pope under the Name of delivering *Italy* from Barbarians, occasioned various Sentiments in the Minds of Men according to their different Passions and Understandings. Many taken with the Speciousness and Magnificence of the Title praised up to the

the Skies so high and noble a Project; A. D.
1511.
 calling it a Profession truly worthy of the pontifical Majesty, and of the great Soul of *Julius*, who could not have undertaken an Enterprize more generous, and which was formed with no less Prudence than Magnanimity; since he had politickly contrived that Barbarians should encounter with Barbarians, and that Foreigners more than *Italians* should spend their Blood against the *French*, by which Means he would not only save the Lives of his Countrymen, but, after he had driven out one of the Parties, leave it much easier to expel the other, already weakened and enervated, with the Arms and Forces of *Italy*.

OTHERS there were, and perhaps of deeper Penetration, who, not suffering their Eyes to be dazzled with the Splendor of a Name, were afraid that the Wars, which should begin with an Intention of delivering *Italy* from Barbarians, would have a more fatal Influence on the vital Spirits of that Body, than those which were undertaken with a manifest Profession, and a

A. D.

1511.

most certain Intention of reducing it under Subjection ; and that it favoured more of Rashness than Prudence to expect that the *Italian* Forces, without Valour, Discipline, Reputation, or Generals of Authority, and where the Princes have different Views, should be sufficient to drive out of *Italy* the Conqueror, who, when all other Remedies failed, would be sure to join with the Conquered for the general Destruction of all the *Italians* ; and that there was much more Reason to fear that these new Movements would expose *Italy* to the Ravages of new Barbarians, than to hope that the Arms of the Pope and *Venetians* in conjunction should be powerful enough to subdue the *French* and *Spaniards*. *Italy* had Reason to wish, said they, that the Discords and perverse Councils of its Princes had never opened a Way for foreign Armies to invade that Country ; but since it was so unhappy that two of its most noble Members were fallen under Subjection to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, it ought to be accounted a lesser Calamity that both of them should remain in the Hands of the present Possessors

Possessors till the divine Goodness, or a ^{A. D.} happy Turn of Fortune afforded a more ^{1511.} seasonable Juncture, while in the mean time, by preserving a Balance of Power between the two Kings, the Liberty of those who were not yet reduced under Servitude was secured, than that the Princes should take up Arms one against another, by which means those Parts of *Italy* which had hitherto been unaffected, would become Scenes of infinite Depredations, Burnings, Slaughters, and tragical Incidents, 'till at last the Parties that remained Conquerors would reduce the whole Country under the most dismal and oppressive Slavery.

BUT the Pope, who had other Sentiments, assuming greater and more ardent Spirits from the new Confederacy, as soon as the Time prefixed in the Monitory before issued to the Cardinals that were Authors of the Council was expired, summoned with great Solemnity a public Consistory, where being vested with the pontifical Robes, and seated in the Hall called the King's Hall, he declared the Cardinals

A. D. of *Santa Croce*, *San Malo*, *Cosenza*, and
 1511. *Bayeux* degraded from the Dignity of the
 Cardinalship, and to have incurred all the
 Pains and Penalties denounced against
 Schismatics and Heretics. Besides this
 he issued a Monitory, drawn up in the
 same Form, to the Cardinal of *San Seve-*
rino, who had hitherto been unmolested ;
 and proceeding with the same Ardor on
 his warlike Schemes he was continually
 soliciting the March of the *Spaniards*, with
 an Intention, before all other Enterprises,
 to make an Attack upon the *Florentines*
 in order to induce that Republic to come
 into the Measures of the Confederates by
 restoring the Family of the *Medici* to the
 Government ; and with no less Desire to
 satiate the immoderate Hatred which he
 had conceived against *Piero Soderini* the
 Gonfaloniere, as if it were by means of his
 Authority that the *Florentines* could never
 be induced to renounce their Alliance with
France, and had given their Consent that
 a Council should be held in *Pisa*.

Pope me-
 ditates a
 War
 against the
Floren-
tines.

THE *Florentines* penetrating into the
 Pope's Resolution by many Indications,
 Preparations

Preparations were made at *Florence* for sustaining a War, and among other Provisions it was proposed, as a very proper Expedient, that since they were unjustly attacked by the Arms of the Church they should employ the Revenues of the Church in their own Defence, and for this Purpose constrain the Ecclesiastics to contribute a very large Sum of Money, but with this Precaution, that it should be deposited in a Place of Security, and not expended except in case of a War; but if all Apprehensions of a War should cease, the Money was to be returned to the Contributors. Many of the Citizens opposed this Motion; some out of Fear of incurring the Censures and Penalties imposed by the Canon Laws on the Violators of the Ecclesiastic Liberties; but the greater Part from a Spirit of Contradiction to whatever should be proposed by the Gonfaloniere, who, it was not doubted, was the principal Author and Promoter of this Measure. But the new Law designed for the Purpose abovementioned, by the Diligence of the Gonfaloniere, and the Inclinations of many others had passed the

A. D. Approbation of the lesser Assemblies, and

1511.

nothing was wanting but the Sanction of the Grand Council, which was assembled for that Purpose, when the Gonfaloniere made the following Speech for the Cause.

Speech of
the Gon-
faloniere
of Florence

“ There is no Person here present, most worthy Citizens, who can justly doubt that the Pope was always desirous of subverting your Liberty, not only from what appears at present in his so precipitately subjecting you to an Interdict, without hearing your many and very just Apologies, or regarding the Hopes you had given him that you would operate in such a Manner that in a few Days the Council should remove from *Pisa*, but much more from the continued Course of his Actions during the whole Time of his Pontificate. That I may briefly recount some Particulars, for to bring them all to your Remembrance would tire your Patience, who is there that can be ignorant that in the War against the *Pisans*, we never could obtain of him, though frequently supplicated, the least Favour, either public or private, though the Justice of our Cause deserved

deserved it, and the Extinction of a Fire, A. D.
1511.
 which not many Years before had given Occasion to very grievous Disorders, concerned the Security of the State of the Church, and the Peace of all *Italy*? On the contrary (what was from that time suspected, and of which since our Victory we have always received more perfect Assurance) as often as the Men of *Pisa* had recourse to him, he gave them a gracious Audience, and encouraged them in their Obstinacy with various Hopes. And this Inclination of his is no new Thing, it took Root in him while he was yet a Cardinal; for we all know that after the *French* had raised the Siege of *Pisa*, he used his utmost Endeavours with the King of *France* and the Cardinal of *Rouen*, that the *Pisans* might be received under the royal Protection, and the *Florentines* excluded. And since he was Pontiff he never granted to our Republic any of those Favours of which the Apostolic See is wont to be very liberal; for in all our Wants and Necessities he never so much as once consented that we should help ourselves with the Revenues of the Ecclesiastics, though
Alexander

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Alexander VI. who was so great an Enemy to this Republic, had several times granted us that Favour. But he shewed the same Disposition towards us in smaller Matters as he had in those of greater Moment; for he even denied us his Permission to exact any Money of the Clergy for the Maintenance of the public Schools, though it was but a small Sum, had been levied by Licence from so many Popes, and was to be converted to the pious Uses of Instruction and Literature. The Negotiation of *Bartolomeo d'Alviano* with Cardinal *Ascanio* in *Rome* was not transacted without the Consent of the Pope, of which at that Time there were many Indications, and the same would soon have appeared in manifest Effects, if the most considerable Persons that assisted at the Treaty had not withdrawn themselves on the sudden Death of the Cardinal. But though the first Foundation of their Devices thus failed, the Pope would never consent, in Compliance with our just Intreaties, to prohibit *Alviano* from mustering and keeping up a Body of Troops in the *Roman Territory*, though he prohibited the *Colonnas* and

and the *Savelli*, by whose Assistance we A. D.
1511. might have diverted our Dangers, with a small Expence, from attacking the States of those who were preparing to fall upon us. In the Affairs of *Siena* he always defended *Pandolfo Petrucci* against us, and constrained us by Threats to prolong the Truce; nor did he afterwards interpōse his Interest for our Recovery of *Monte Pulciano*, for whose Defence he had sent Troops to *Siena*, from any other Motive than his Fears that we should call the *French* Army into *Tuscany*. On the contrary, for our Parts, we never did him any Injury, but always behaved ourselves with becoming Devotion towards the Church, and took particular Care to gratify him in all his Demands as far as lay in our Power, and lent him, without any Obligation, but even contrary to our Interest, our Troops for the Enterprize against *Bologna*. But no kind Offices, no Obsequiousness are sufficient to pacify his Spirit, of which there are a Multitude of Proofs, but the most flagrant, which, that I might not appear transported with Resentment, and because it is fresh in the Memory of all People, I would

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would chuse to pass over in Silence, is his lending an Ear, to say no worse, to those Villains who offered to assassinate me ; not out of any private Pique, for I had never offended him, and when he was a Cardinal was always honourably received by him, but from a passionate Desire to deprive you of your Liberty. For it has been his constant Aim that this Republic should concur with him in his immoderate and unjust Designs, and should participate of his Expences and of his Dangers. But despairing of any imprudent and precipitous Resolutions from the Moderation and Maturity of your Counsels, he has endeavoured to compass his Ends by introducing into this City a Tyranny dependent on himself, under which the public Councils and Administration would be directed, not with a Regard to your Welfare, but according to the Dictates of his own violent and unruly Desires, which, being founded on boundless and ambitious Views, have no other Tendency than to kindle War after War, and to keep alive a perpetual Flame in Christendom. And who can in the least doubt but at this very
Instant,

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Instant, when he finds himself united with such potent Allies, is absolute Lord of *Romagna*, and has the *Senefe* at his Devotion, by which means he has opened a Way to penetrate into the Bowels of our Country, he has a full Intention to employ his Forces against us? That he will use his Endeavours to gain his Ends by open Force, since he could not compass them secretly by Fraud and Treachery; and strive to accomplish what he has so long and ardently desired, and with an Eagerness in proportion to our bad State of Defence? If we should want any other Proof, has not he himself sufficiently demonstrated his Intentions by just now deputing the Cardinal *de' Medici* his Legate to *Bologna*, with a Design to put him at the Head of an Army; a Cardinal never honoured nor benefited by him, and in whom he never seemed to place any Confidence? What can be the Meaning of this, but that, by investing with Authority, appointing upon your Borders, and thus as it were placing upon your Necks, with so much Dignity and Honour, and with a military Force, a Man who aspires to be your Tyrant, he
would

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would give Encouragement to those Citizens (if any are so depraved) who are more in Love with Tyranny than Liberty, and excite your Subjects to an Insurrection at the Name of the *Medici*? For these Reasons my honourable Colleagues, with many other good and well affected Citizens, have judged it necessary that for the Defence of their Liberty there should be made the same Provisions as would have been done if the War had been certain; and that though it be probable that the King of *France*, from a Regard to his own Interest, will send us a powerful Assistance, we ought not, in Reliance on those Hopes, to omit those Remedies which are in our own Power, nor forget that many Impediments may possibly intervene, which may deprive us of some Part of those Succours. We cannot think that any one will deny this Counsel to be safe and necessary; and whoever shall oppose it may possibly be influenced by some other Motives than a Zeal for the public Welfare. But there are yet some who argue that, as we are uncertain whether the Pope has determined to make War upon

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us, it would be an impolitic Resolution to offend his Authority by laying an Imposition on the Estates of Ecclesiastics, and by giving him just Cause of Resentment provoke him to enter upon a War as it were by Necessity: As if his Intentions were not manifestly comprehended by such a Number of evident Proofs and Tokens; and as if it were the Part of prudent Administrators of a Republic to delay their Preparations till the Attack was begun, and chuse to receive the mortal Blow from the Enemy before they put on the Armour necessary for their Defence. Others say we ought not to draw upon ourselves, besides the Pope's Anger, the Wrath of God, but provide for our Security by some other Means; since we are not under that pressing Necessity without which it is always forbidden the Laity, under the most grievous Penalties, by the Canon Laws, to lay any Burdens upon the Estates or Persons of Ecclesiastics. This Objection also has been considered by us, and by others who have promoted this Law. But the public Revenues not being sufficient, as you know, to defray the current Expences

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pences of the Government, and your Purfes exhausted by long and heavy Taxes, and every one being sensible that in a War new Impositions may be requisite on every Emergency, who does not see that it is highly expedient, and even necessary, that the Expences we shall incur by defending ourselves in a War carried on against us by Ecclesiastical Persons should be defrayed in Part by the Treasures of Ecclesiastics; which have been frequently employed in our City, and much oftener by all other Princes and Republics; but never, either here or elsewhere, with greater Caution and Moderation, since they are not to be applied to any other Use, and are besides to be deposited in a Place of Security, and restored, if our Fears should prove vain, to the Religious themselves? If the Pontiff then should not attack us, the Money of the Ecclesiastics will not be spent, nor in effect will there be any Hardship imposed upon them; if he falls upon us, who can blame us if by all Means possible we endeavour to defend ourselves from so unjust a War? What Cause has this Republic, which suffered a Council to be called at
Pisa

Pisa not out of Choice but Necessity, as he very well knows, given him of Provocation or Resentment? Unless a Man can be said to provoke and incense another by not stretching forth his Neck, and laying open his Breast for receiving his Strokes, though, in truth, he does not provoke and incite him by standing upon his Guard, and preparing to resist his unjust Violence. Well might we be said to provoke and stir up the Pontiff, if we neglected our own Defence ; for the Hopes of easy Success in his Enterprize would increase the Ardor and Violence of his Efforts for destroying the very Foundations of your Liberty. Nor let the Fear of offending the divine Majesty restrain you ; for the Danger is great and evident, and such are our Wants and Necessities (nothing of greater Moment, or that may tend more to our Prejudice possibly falling under our Consideration) that we are permitted to assist ourselves not only with that Part of the Revenues which is not converted to pious Uses, but it would be even lawful for us to lay our Hands on Things consecrated ; because Self-Defence is allowed to all Men by the Law of Na-

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ture, and approved by Almighty God, and the Consent of all Nations; had its Beginning and will end with the World, and can suffer no Derogation by Civil or Canon Laws, which are founded on the Will of Men, and being written on Paper cannot invalidate a Law, not made by Men, but written, engraved and infixed in the Breasts and Minds of all human Generations. Nor are we to wait till we are reduced to extreme Necessity; for when we are brought into such a State, and surrounded, and in a manner oppressed with Enemies, it would be too late to have recourse to Remedies, too late to make use of Antidotes, when the Poison has incorporated itself with the Body. Besides, how can it be denied that private Persons labour under very great Hardships, since by the heavy Taxes a very considerable Part of them have been constrained to retrench from those Expences without which they cannot live but with very great Inconveniency, and a considerable Diminution of Things necessary to support their Rank? This Necessity is considered by the Laws, which intend not that you should wait till your
Citizens

Citizens are in Danger of a Famine, and ^{A. D.} no longer able to support themselves and ^{1511.} their Families. On the other hand the Ecclesiastics will be under no Inconveniency from this Imposition, but only that of parting with such a Portion of their Revenues, as they would either let lie useless in their Coffers, or consume in superfluous Expences, or perhaps many of them, pardon the Expression, in unlawful and indecent Pleasures. It is the common Opinion of all Sages that God is highly pleased with the Liberties of Cities, because by them the common Good is more consulted than under any other Form of Government, Justice is administered with greater Impartiality, the Minds of the Citizens are more incited to virtuous and honourable Actions, and more Respect and Reverence are paid to Religion. And can you believe that the Almighty will be displeased at your defending a Thing so precious as Liberty, for which whoever spends his Blood meets with the highest Praises, by employing a small Part of your temporal Profits and Revenues for that Purpose? These Temporalities, though

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dedicated to the Churches, came into their Possession either as Alms, Donations, or Legacies from our Ancestors, and will be as well spent for the Preservation and Security of those Churches, which in Times of War will be as much exposed as secular Things to the Cruelty and Avarice of the Soldiers, and will be no more respected in a War made by the Pope, than in one under the Management of an impious Tyrant, or the *Turks* themselves. Assist now, my beloved Fellow Citizens, your dear Country, and stand up for your Liberties, while it is in your Power, and be assured that you cannot perform any Service more pleasing and acceptable in the Sight of God Almighty; and that to keep off a War from your Houses and Lands, your Temples and Monasteries, there is no better Expedient than to convince the Enemy who intends to distress you, that you are determined to use all possible Means for your Defence."

AFTER this Speech of the Gonfaloniere, the Majority of the Great Council made no Difficulty of passing the Law. But
when

when this Transaction came to the Knowledge of the Pope, it provoked his Indignation beyond Measure, and he laboured with the greater Earnestness to dispose the Confederates to begin the War by attacking the *Florentines*. But he suffered himself, as well as those who negotiated the Affairs of the King of *Aragon* in *Italy*, to be diverted from that Project by the Persuasions of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who advised them to make an Attack upon *Bologna*. For *Pandolfo* detesting a War in *Tuscany* remonstrated that *Bologna* was incapable of defending itself with its own Strength, and would be defended only by the Forces of the King of *France*; whereas they would meet with Resistance from the *Florentines*, by their own Power as well as that of the same King, who, for his own Interest would defend them as much as he would *Bologna*: That the *Florentines*, tho' well affected to the King of *France*, were yet so prudent, and zealous for the Preservation of their State, that during such great Commotions they had not, in compliance with his Instances, acted offensively against any State, nor

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been serviceable to him in any Respect, but in furnishing him with Two Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of his Dominions in *Lombardy*, to which they were obliged by the Articles of the Treaty concluded with the Catholic King as well as himself: That they could not do a more acceptable Piece of Service to the King of *France*, than to necessitate the *Florentines* to depart from their Neutrality, and join with him in one common Cause. It would be highly imprudent, he continued, that when the King had in vain solicited them by Intreaties and Promises to declare for him, his Enemies should be the Cause of his obtaining his Ends, which he had failed of accomplishing by his own Authority. Every one was sensible by many Signs, but he himself had most certain Information, that it was very disagreeable to the *Florentines* that a Council should be held in *Pisa*, and they had not consented to it for any other Reason than that they durst not reject the Demands of the *French* King which were made immediately after the Rebellion of *Bologna*, and when they saw no Forces in
Italy

Italy assembled to oppose him : It was certain that the Council was promoted by the Authority of *Cæsar*, and it was believed that it had also the Consent of the Catholic King : That he knew also that the *Florentines* could by no means endure to have *French* Soldiers quartered in their Dominions ; that it would be highly pernicious to threaten and exasperate them, but on the contrary would prove of great Advantage to deal with them mildly, and seem to admit of their Excuses ; for by thus proceeding they would either obtain of them in time, or on some fit Opportunity, what at present could not be expected ; or, at least, by not constraining them by Fear to take new Resolutions, would lull them asleep, so as to receive no Damage from them in Times of Danger ; and when the Victory, was once obtained it would be in the Power of the Confederates to impose on the *Florentines* what Form of Government they thought most expedient. The Authority of *Pandolfo* in this Cause was diminished by knowing that he was prompted by his own private Interest to wish that no War of such Consequence

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Proceed-
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Schisma-
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might be commenced in *Tuscany*, by which all Parts of that Country would be ravaged and destroyed as much by the Armies of Friends as by those of Enemies. His Reasons however appeared to have so much Weight in them, that it was easily resolved to forbear attacking the *Florentines*; and what made this Counsel the better esteemed was the Dispute that happened not many Days after between the *Florentines* and the Cardinals. These Cardinals, as we observed before, were not present at the first Acts of the Council, but had stopped at the Village of *San Donino*, either with an Intent to wait for the Prelates who were coming from *France*, or for those whom the King of the *Romans* had promised to send, or for some other Reasons. They set out from hence by different Roads; and it was reported that the two *Spanish* Cardinals who had taken their Rout for *Bologna* would reconcile themselves to the Pope; for they were known to be continually treating with the Ambassador of the King of *Aragon* at the Pope's Court; and as they had demanded and obtained of the *Florentines* a Safeguard for their Residence

fidence in *Florence*, the Report gained *A. D.*
 Credit. But their Eminences being ar- *1511.*
 rived in the Territory of *Mugello* suddenly
 turned towards *Lucca* to join with the
 others, either because they had really so
 determined before ; or because in the Car-
 dinal of *Santa Croce* in particular his old
 Ambition had at last got the better of his
 new Fear ; or, lastly, because they had in
 that Place received Advice of their De-
 gradation, and despaired of accommodating
 Matters with the Pope. The three *French*
 Cardinals *San Malo*, *Albret*, and *Bayeux*,
 at the same time passed the *Appenine* by
 the Road of *Pontremoli*, attended by the
French Prelates ; after whom followed, at
 their Request, Three Hundred *French*
 Lances, commanded by *Odet de Foix* Lord
 of *Lautrec*, appointed by the Cardinals to
 guard the Council, either because they
 thought it dangerous to stay in *Pisa* with-
 out such a Guard, or that the Council, accom-
 panied by the Arms of the King of *France*,
 might proceed with the greater Authority ;
 or really, as they said themselves, that they
 might have the Power to suppress such as
 should dare to oppose or disobey their
 Decrees.

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Floren-
tines refuse
to admit
French
Troops
into *Pisa*.

As soon as the *Florentines* were apprised of this Appointment, which had been concealed from them till the Troops were on their March, they came to a Resolution not to admit into a City of such Importance so great a Number of Soldiers, considering the Disaffection of the *Pisans*, and remembering that the late Rebellion was kindled by the Presence and Permission of the *French King Charles*, and the Inclination that the *French* Soldiers had ever shewn to the *Pisans*. Besides, they doubted that some dangerous Accident might happen from the Insolence of the military Men; but they much more dreaded that if *French* Forces should be received into *Pisa*, Occasions might thence arise, and perhaps at the secret Desire of the King, for making *Tuscany* the Seat of War. They signified therefore at the same time to the King the Difficulty of quartering so many Troops in a narrow and barren Country, which could hardly yield Subsistence to those Multitudes that were coming to the Council; and that such a Guard was quite unnecessary, because they had taken care that *Pisa* should

should be under such strict Regulations and Government, as to afford a very secure

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Residence for the Cardinals, without the least Danger of Insults from Foreigners, or Opposition from the Inhabitants. To the Cardinal of *San Malo*, by whose Dictates the *French* were directed in these Affairs, they gave Notice that they had resolved not to admit any Soldiers into *Pisa*. His Eminence, seeming to give his Consent in Words, gave Orders for the Troops to separate, but at the same time to proceed forwards, making the least Show that was possible; persuading himself that when they approached *Pisa* they would make their Way into it, either by Force or Art, or because the *Florentines* would not presume to offer so great an Affront to the King as to forbid their Entrance. But as the King in his Answer had said expressly that his Troops should not march, the *Florentines* dispatched *Francesco Vettori* on an Embassy to the Cardinal of *San Malo* to controul his Pride, and assure him that if the Cardinals set Foot on their Dominions with an armed Force they would not only refuse them an Entrance into *Pisa*, but persecute

A. D. 1511. { persecute them as Enemies, and would act in the same Manner if their Men at Arms passed the *Apennine* towards *Tuscany*, for it was presumed that they would not pass with any other Intention than, by some secret and fraudulent Contrivance, to get into *Pisa**. This Message had such an Effect upon the Cardinal that he ordered the Troops to return beyond the *Apennine*, the *Florentines* consenting that he should be attended with an Hundred and Fifty Archers, and also *Lautrec* and *Chatillon*†.

THE Cardinals met altogether at *Lucca*, which City the Pope, for that Reason, declared to have incurred the Interdict. Their Eminences at their Departure from *Lucca* left the Cardinal of *Cosenza* sick, who died a few Days after. The other four

* In the mean time the *Florentines* took care to provide *Pisa* with a Guard, sent for several *Pisan* Citizens to *Florence*, and ordered all their Men at Arms to be quartered in the Neighbourhood of *Pisa*, that they might not be taken unprovided. *Buonac.*

† The Pope was so pleased that the *Florentines* had caused the *French* Troops to return back, that he suspended the Interdict published against *Pisa* and *Florence* till the Middle of *November*; the Cardinals arrived at *Pisa* the last Day of *October*, 1511. *Buonac.*

four went to *Pisa*, where they were neither A. D. received with Chearfulness by the Magi- 1511. strates, nor with Reverence and Devotion Cardinals by the Populace; because their Coming at Pisa. was very disagreeable to the *Florentines*, and the Cause of the Council was in no Esteem or Acceptation among the Christian Nations. For though the Title or Profession of reforming the Church was truly honourable, and highly beneficial, and no less necessary than acceptable to the whole Christian World, yet every one was sensible that the Authors of the Council were moved by ambitious Ends, immoderately desirous of temporal Preferments, and under the Pretence of the public Good had consulted their private Interest; that whoever of them should come to be Pontiff, he would stand in as much Need of Reformation as those whom they pretended to reform; and that, besides the Ambition of Priests, the Quarrels and Disputes between Princes and States had raised and supported the Council. These Reasons had induced the King of *France* to procure it, the King of the *Romans* to consent to it, and the King of *Aragon* to de-
fire

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fire it. It was therefore clearly comprehended that the Cause of Armies and Empires was principally connected with the Cause of the Council, and the People abhorred that, under the pious Pretences of spiritual Concerns, the chief Care should be directed to temporal Affairs, to be prosecuted by open Wars and shameful Actions. Hence the Cardinals were not only treated with visible Marks of the public Hatred and Contempt at their Entrance into *Pisa*, but more manifestly in the Management of the Council. For having called the Clergy to assist at the first Session in the Cathedral Church, not one of the Religious would appear; and when they designed, according to the Custom of Councils, to celebrate the Mass for imploring the Illumination of the Holy Spirit, the Priests belonging to that Church refused to lend them the Sacerdotal Ornaments; and proceeding to a greater Degree of Boldness, they locked the Doors of the Church, and opposed their Entrance. The Cardinals sending their Complaints to *Florence*, the Government ordered that they should have free Access to the Churches,

Churches, and to the necessary Apparatus ^{A. D.} for celebrating divine Service, but the ^{1511.} Clergy were not to be compelled to assist at it. These Resolutions, which were in a manner inconsistent with themselves, proceeded from the Divisions among the Citizens, who, while on one hand they received the Council into the Towns of the Republic, and on the other left its Members exposed to Contempt and Affronts, offended the Pope, and at the same time displeased the King of *France*. The Cardinals therefore considering that to stay in *Pisa* without a Guard must be dangerous, and that the Authority of a Council must be weakened in a City that would not obey its Decrees, were inclined to leave the Place as soon as they had settled their Affairs: But they were constrained to hasten their Departure by an Accident which, tho' fortuitous, yet had its Foundation in the Disaffection of the People. A *French* Soldier, it seems, having grossly abused a Whore in a public Place, the People who stood near began to cry out upon him. The Noise drew thither a Number
of

A. D. of *French* with their Arms, as well Soldiers as Domesticks of the Cardinals and the other Prelates, and on the other Side a great Concourse of the *Pisan* Populace and *Florentine* Soldiers; and one Party crying up *France*, and the other *Marzocco* *, the Ensign of the Republic of *Florence*, there began a furious Fight between them: But the *French* and *Florentine* Officers running thither, the Tumult was at last appeased, after many on both Sides had been wounded, among whom were *Chatillon*, who had rushed in among them without Arms to put a Stop to the Fray in the Beginning, and *Lautrec*, who ran thither upon the like Occasion, tho' their Wounds were but slight.

THE Cardinals, who at the same time happened to be assembled in the Church of *San Michele* near the Place where the Fray happened, were so terrified at this Accident, that in their second Session, which they held the next Day, they made an Act for removing the Council to *Milan*, and departed in all Haste on the fifteenth Day

* A painted or engraved Lion.

Day after their Coming, to the great Joy of the *Florentines* and *Pisans*, and no less of the Prelates that attended the Council, and were much chagrined at their coming into a Place, which by the bad Condition of the Houses, and many other Inconveniences proceeding from the long War, was by no means suited to the delicate and plentiful Life of Priests and of *Frenchmen*, and much more because they came thither by the King's Orders, contrary to their own Inclination, and wished for a Change of Place, or for any Accident that might embarrass, prorogue, or dissolve the Council. But the Cardinals, every where hated and despised by the People, would have met with the same or even worse Treatment in *Milan*. For the *Milanese* Clergy, as soon as they had entered the City, regarding them not as Cardinals of the *Roman* Church, who used to be honoured and in a manner adored every where, but as profane and execrable Persons, immediately refrained of themselves from celebrating divine Service: And whenever they appeared in public the Populace

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Council of
Pisa translated to
Milan.

curfed and openly affronted them with reproachful Words and Gestures, especially the Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, who was reputed the Author of the Schism, and was more distinguished in the Eye of the Public, because in the last Session at *Pisa* he had been elected President of the Council. Nothing was heard in all the Streets but Murmurings of the People: Councils, they said, usually brought with them Blessings, Peace, and Concord; this would produce nothing but Curses, Wars, and Discord: Other Councils used to assemble for the Sake of restoring Unity to the Church; this met together with an Intent to divide it when it was united: The Contagion of such a Plague communicated itself to all those that received, obeyed, or favoured them, or in any Manner conversed with them, heard, or regarded them; and that nothing could be expected from their Coming but Sword, Famine, and Pestilence, and in the end, Destruction both of Body and Soul. These clamorous and almost tumultuous Speeches were repressed by *Gaston de Foix*, whom the King a few Months before, at the Departure of
Monf.

Monf. *Longueville*, had constituted Governor of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and General of the Army, who constrained the Clergy, by very severe Orders, to resume the Exercise of their Functions, and the People to talk more modestly.

By reason of these Difficulties the Council opened with a very ill Aspect, and the Hopes of the Cardinals were still more diminished by the Conduct of *Cæsar*, in delaying Day after Day to send either Prelates or Proxies, tho', besides so many Promises made before, he had protested to the Cardinal of *San Severino*, and constantly assured the King of *France* that he would send them. But at the same time, either to excuse himself, or being persuaded by others that it was not becoming his Dignity to send to the *Pisan* Council the Prelates of his own States, unless it were in the Name of the whole *Germanic* Nation, he alledged that he had called a Convocation of the *German* Prelates at *Ausburg*, to deliberate in what Manner to proceed by common Consent in the Affairs of that Council; and by

A. D. 1511. this Means, he assured the *French*, he would induce them all to appear in Person or by Proxy. The King fretted extremely at this shuffling Way of Proceeding in *Cæsar*, who, besides the Coldness he shewed with regard to the Council, openly hearkened to an Accommodation with the *Venetians*, which was solicited with many Offers by the Pontiff and the King of *Aragon*. On the other hand he complained of the Catholic King, that he was not ashamed openly to infringe the League of *Cambray*, and that in this new, not Confederacy, but Conspiracy, he had named him as Party. He proposed therefore to *Galeazzo di San Severino*, that he should march to *Rome* in Person, on the Score of a private Enmity against the Pope, the King furnishing him with Part of his Army, and a very large Sum of Money. He did not however propose these Things with such an Assurance, but that it might be doubted, if all his Demands were satisfied, what would be his final Resolution.

THE King thus, as usual, was held in
Suspense,

Suspense, and involved in Doubts and Suspensions. To abandon *Cæsar* would cause him to join with his Enemies; if he thought fit to support him, his Alliance must be purchased with an immense Sum of Money, of which he did not know what would be the Fruits, since he had learnt by Experience that the Unsteadiness of that Prince had often done him more Harm than he had received Benefit from his Assistance; so that the King was at a Loss to determine with himself whether he had most Reason to be apprehensive of the good or ill Success of *Cæsar*. His Perplexity was increased as much as possible by the Catholic King, who, in order to make him slacken his Preparations for War, put him in Hopes that there would be no Occasion for Acts of Hostility. The King of *England* did the like, and with the same Intent; for that Prince, in his Answer to the *French* Ambassador, assured him that it was not true that he had consented to the League made at *Rome*, but that he was disposed to observe the Confederacy which he had contracted with his Master. At

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King of
Francedeliberates on
the present

Juncture.

A. D. the same time the Bishop of *Tivoli* in
 1511. the Name of the Pontiff propos'd Peace,
 provided the King would no longer favour
 the Council, and would withdraw his Protection from *Bologna*, offering to give him Security, if he complied, that the Pope should attempt nothing further against him. The King was more disposed to Peace, tho' on unequal Terms, than to run the Risque of a War, which would require almost infinite Expences to make Head against his Enemies, and support *Cæsar*; but it rais'd his Indignation to think that the King of *Aragon* should in a manner force him to a Peace by the Terror of Arms. It was very difficult also to get Security that the Pope, after he had recover'd *Bologna*, and was freed from the Fear of a Council, should observe the Peace; and it was to be doubted, even if the King should shew himself ready to consent to the Conditions propos'd, whether the Pontiff would not retract, as he had done at other Times, which would be an Affront to the Majesty of the King, and a Diminution of his Reputation, and *Cæsar* would think
 himself

himself injured by his Forwardness to conclude a separate Peace, leaving him to continue the War against the *Venetians* by himself. Upon these Considerations he positively answered the Bishop of *Tivoli*, that he would not consent that *Bologna* should be subject to the Church in any other Manner than it had usually been in former Times; and at the same time, to fix in his Interest *Maximilian*, who was then at *Bruneck*, a Town not far from *Trent*, he dispatched away in all Haste *Andrea di Burgo* of *Cremona*, *Cæsar's* Resident at his Court, to his Master with very large Offers. Some of that Prince's Subjects of the County of *Tyrol* about this Time made themselves Masters of *Battisten*, a very strong Castle at the Entrance of the Vale of *Cadoro*.

THE Negotiations of Peace being now broken off, the King of *France* first designed that *Palisse*, who, after leaving Three Thousand Foot in *Verona* to pacify *Cæsar* who was chagrined at his Departure, was returned with the rest of the Troops into the Dutchy of *Milan*, should make

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new Levies of Foot, and afterwards uniting all the Forces make an Invasion into *Romagna*, in hopes of making himself Master of all or Part of that Country before the Arrival of the *Spaniards*, and then either pursue his Conquests as Opportunity offered, or fix the Seat of the War in the Territories of others till the Approach of Spring, when he would pass into *Italy* in Person with all the Forces of his Kingdom, in hopes of shewing himself every where superior to his Enemies. But while he amused himself with Schemes, his Resolutions proceeded perhaps with more Slowness than was consistent with the Exigencies of Affairs, and he was retarded by his natural Parsimony, which rendered him quite averse to spending of Money, in making several necessary Provisions, and particularly in ordering new Levies of Foot, as it was doubted whether the *Swiss* would put themselves in Motion. But since we have been obliged to mention the Nation of the *Swiss* in several Places of this History, it will be much to our Purpose, and in a manner necessary to give a particular Account of them.

Unseasonable Parsimony of the King of France.

THE

THE *Swiss* are the same People that the Antients called *Helvetians*, and are a Race of Men that inhabit the highest Mountains of *Jura*, called *San Claudio*, and those of *Briga* and *S. Goddardo*. They are by Nature fierce and rustic, and on account of the Barrenness of their Country more addicted to Grazing than Tillage. They were formerly in Subjection to the Dukes of *Austria*, from whom they long since revolted, and are governed by themselves, paying no Mark of Homage either to the Emperors, or to any other Princes. They are divided into thirteen States, which they call Cantons, each of them governed by its own proper Magistrates, Laws and Ordinances. They hold once a Year, or oftener if Occasion requires, Consultations on Affairs of universal Concern, assembling themselves sometimes in one Place, sometimes in another, as the Deputies from each Canton shall chuse. These Assemblies, according to the Custom of *Germany*, are called Diets, and debate upon Wars, Treaties of Peace, and Confederacies, on the Demands of those who solicit

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licit Leave to lift Soldiers by public Decree, or Permission for Volunteers to enter into foreign Service, and on Matters concerning the common Interest. When Soldiers are granted by public Decree, the Cantons chuse among themselves a Captain General over all, to whom they deliver the Standard with the Colours in the Name of the Public. This wild and unpolished Nation has gained great Renown by its Union and glorious Exploits in War; for the *Swiss*, by their natural Ferocity, and orderly Discipline, have not only constantly defended their own Country with great Valour, but highly signalized their martial Abilities in foreign Service. And their Praise would have been incomparably greater, if they had employed that Skill and Courage for the Service of their own Empire, which they spent abroad for Hire, and for enlarging the Dominions of others; and if they had directed their Views to more generous Ends than the Getting of Money, by the Love of which they have suffered themselves to be corrupted, and have since lost the Opportunity of being formidable to all *Italy*. For as they marched out of their
Country

Country only as mercenary Soldiers, they acquired nothing to the Public by their Victories, being accustomed out of a greedy Desire of Gain to require large Subsidies, and make new Demands of Pay, and so become almost intolerable in Armies, besides being troublesome and contumacious in their Behaviour and Obedience to those that paid them. The Heads of the People abstain not from receiving Gifts and Pensions from Princes, for espousing and favouring their Cause in Debates ; thus making the public Welfare subservient to their private Interest, and becoming venal and open to Corruption, they disagreed among themselves, so that the Decrees of the Majority of the Cantons in the Diets not meeting with universal Approbation and Obedience, they came at last not many Years ago to an open Rupture and Civil War, to the vast Diminution of that Authority and Respect which they had every where acquired. Beneath these Cantons are situated certain Towns and Villages inhabited by a People, called *Vallesi* because they dwell in Valleys. These are much inferior to the other in Number,

public

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public Influence, and Bravery, being universally reputed to come short of the *Swiss* in Fierceness. There is yet another Race of Men, of a lower Situation than the two former, called *Grisons**, who divide their Government into three Cantons, and are therefore called Lords of the three Leagues. Their principal Town is called *Coira*, and they are often confederated with the *Swiss*, and accompany them to the Wars, being governed almost by the same Ordinances and Customs: These People are superior in Arms to the *Vallesi*, but not equal to the *Swiss* either in Number or Valour.

THE *Swiss* then, who at this Time were not quite so degenerate and corrupt as they became afterwards, being stimulated by the Pontiff, prepared for a Descent into the Dutchy of *Milan*. They would not confess that their Movement proceeded from the Consent of all the Cantons, but gave out that the Cantons of *Schuitz* and *Friburgh* were the Authors of it; the first
on.

* Antiently *Rheti*.

on a Complaint that, one of their Couriers *A. D.*
in passing through the State of *Milan* had *1511.*
been murdered by some *French* Soldiers,
and the other on pretence of having received some particular Injuries. Though the King of *France* was before well informed of the Designs of these Cantons, and in general of the whole Nation, he could not be induced to come to an Agreement with them, to which he was continually advised by his Council, and which those who were his Friends among the *Swiss* gave him Hopes of accomplishing, being restrained by his usual Difficulty of adding Twenty Thousand Francs, which is about Ten Thousand Ducats, to their former Pensions. Thus for the Sake of saving a trifling Sum, he refused that Friendship which he would many times afterwards have purchased with inestimable Treasures, persuading himself that either they would not march at all, or if they did that they could do him but little Prejudice, because they used to make all their Expeditions and fight their Battles on foot, having neither Cavalry nor Artillery. Besides, in that Season, it being the Month of *November*,
the

A. D. the Rivers were swelled, and the *Swiss* had no Pontons or Boats, the Provisions in the Dutchy of *Milan* were, by Orders of *Gaston de Foix*, all removed into the Fortresses, the Frontier Towns were well garrisoned, and the Men at Arms in Readiness to oppose the Enemy in the Plains. By these Impediments it was judged that if the *Swiss* should put themselves on their March, they would be obliged to return within a few Days. They were not however terrified by these Diffi-

Descent of
the *Swiss*
into the
Dutchy of
Milan.

culties from beginning a Descent to *Varese*, at which Place their Forces continually increased, having brought with them seven Field Pieces, and a great Number of large Harquebuses carried on Horses, and not wholly neglected to furnish themselves with Provisions*. Their Coming was much the more dreaded because the *French* Soldiers being grown more licentious than usual, the People began to be heartily tired

* The *Swiss* before they descended to *Varese* sent a Messenger to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate that they were resolved to drive the *French* out of *Italy*, and to succour the *Venetians*, and therefore demanded a Supply of Provisions, a Train of Artillery, and Five Hundred Horse; with these Demands the Senate readily complied. *Bembo*.

tired of their Government; and the King ^{A. D.} restrained by Avarice had not consented to ^{1511.} raise a Body of Foot; and all his Men at Arms at that Time in *Italy* amounted to no more than Thirteen Hundred Lances effective Men, besides Two Hundred of the Royal Guards: Nor were these all at hand to oppose the *Swiss*, for Part of them were in Garrison at *Verona* and *Brescia*, and *Foix* had lately sent Two Hundred Lances to *Bologna* on Advice of the Arrival of the Cardinal *de' Medici* and *Marco Colonna* at *Faenza*. And though they had no Number of Foot in their Service, it appeared necessary to send that Reinforcement to *Bologna* on account of the Divisions in that City, and because the Governor of the Castle of *Sassiglione*, a Fortrefs on the Mountain of *Bologna*, had not long before voluntarily surrendered it up to the Legate. From *Varese* the *Swiss* sent a Trumpet to bid Defiance to the King's Lieutenant, who having but a few Men at Arms with him, because he had not had Time to assemble them, nor above Two Thousand Foot, not resolving as yet on new Levies because he would not displease the King, was arrived

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rived at *Affaron*, a Town thirteen Miles distant from *Milan*, not with an Intention to give Battle, but closely to attend the Motions of the Enemy, and to intercept their Provisions, by which alone he could expect to stop them, there being no Rivers of difficult Passage, nor Towns that could be defended between *Varese* and *Milan*. From *Varese* the *Swiss* proceeded to *Galera*, their Forces being increased to Ten Thousand Men; and *Gaston*, who followed *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, posted himself at *Lignago*, four Miles from *Galera*. These Motions struck such a Terror into the *Milanese*, that they listed Men at their own Charge for the Defence of the City, and *Teodoro da Trivulzi* caused the Bastions to be fortified, and, as if the Army must be obliged to retire into *Milan*, he ordered Esplanades to be made on the Inside round the Ramparts that encompass the Suburbs, that the Horse might act conveniently. *Gaston de Foix*, however, with Three Hundred Lances and Two Hundred of the King's Guards, and a good Train of Artillery, presented himself before the Town of *Galera*. At his Appearance the *Swiss* marched

marched out in Order of Battle ; but not chusing to fight in an open Place before they were more in Number, they immediately retired into the Town. Their Forces in the mean time were continually increasing till they resolved no longer to decline an Engagement, but marched forwards to *Busti*, in which Town were quartered an Hundred Lances, who had much ado to save themselves, with the Loss of their Baggage and Part of their Horses. At last the *French* still retiring as the *Swiss* advanced, took shelter within the Suburbs of *Milan*, but it was still uncertain whether they intended to stay there for their Defence, or not, because they gave out one Thing in their Speeches, and their Sollicitude in furnishing the Cittadel with Provisions shewed the contrary. The *Swiss* afterwards approached within two Miles of the Suburbs, but the Fears they had excited were now much allayed by the continual Arrival of Men at Arms recalled to *Milan*, and Companies of Foot newly levied, and *Molard* was expected every Hour with the *Gascon*, and *Jacob* with the *German* Foot, one being ordered from *Ve-*

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rona,

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rona, and the other from *Carpi*. At this Time also were intercepted Letters from the *Swiss* to their Lords, signifying that the *French* made but a weak Defence; and that they wondered at their receiving no Message from the Pope; that they knew not what the *Venetian* Army was doing, but that they proceeded however according to Appointment. They were now increased to Sixteen Thousand, and turned their March towards *Monza*, on which they made no Attempt, but inclining more towards the *Adda* put the *French* in Fear lest they should endeavour to pass that River. Wherefore they laid a Bridge at *Casciano*, with a Design to prevent their Passage by means of the commodious Situation of that Town and of the Bridge. While Things were in this Posture arrived at *Milan*, having first obtained a Pass, an Officer of the *Swiss*, who demanded a Month's Pay for all the Foot, and asserted that, on the Receipt of it, their Troops should return to their own Country; but he departed without Effect, because the Sum they offered him was much too small. The next Day he came again with
much

much higher Demands, and though they made him greater Offers than they had done the Day before he returned to his Countrymen, and immediately after sent back a Trumpet to signify that the *Swiss* would come to no Agreement; and the next Day, contrary to all Expectation, they moved towards *Como*, and from thence returned into their own Country, leaving the Public at liberty to judge whether their Descent into the Dutchy of *Milan* was made with a Design to conquer it, or to pass further; and for what Reason, before they laboured under any evident Difficulty, they marched back; or why, if they had resolved to return, they had not accepted the Money that was offered them, especially since it was their own Demand. Whatever might be the Reason, it is certain that while they were on their Return there came two Messages from the Pope and the *Venetians*, and it is reported that if they had arrived sooner, the *Swiss* would not have departed. And it is not doubted that if at that very Time when they entered the Dutchy of *Milan* the *Spaniards* had approached *Bologna*, the *French* being

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Swiss re-
turn in-
glorious
into their
Country.

A. D. 1511. unprovided for making Resistance in so many Places at once, their Affairs in *Italy* would suddenly have run to manifest Ruin beyond Recovery.

The King of *France* being now taught by Experience the Danger which he had not the Prudence to foresee, had given Orders to *Foix*, before he had Notice of the Retreat of the *Swiss*, to spare no Money for making his Peace with them; and not doubting but that, though his Differences were accommodated with that Nation, he should be powerfully attacked by other Enemies, had commanded all the Men at Arms in *France*, except Two Hundred which he reserved in *Picardy*, to pass the Mountains, and sent also a new Reinforcement of *Gascon* Foot on the same Expedition, and gave Directions to *Foix* to recruit his Army with *Italian* and *German* Foot. He solicited also the *Florentines* with pressing Instances for their Assistance, which would be of great Service, because the Seat of the War would be in the Neighbourhood of their Territories, which also lay very convenient for alarming the Ecclesiastic

King of
France
solicits
Assistance
from the
Florentines.

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fiastic State, and for intercepting the Enemy's Convoys, if they made an Attack on *Bologna*; and he earnestly insisted that they would openly with all their Forces concur with him in the War, because the Necessity of the present Juncture required it, and not with a small and limited auxiliary Force, or what only they were obliged to furnish by the Terms of their Confederacy; representing that they could never have a fairer Opportunity of obliging him, or performing a more signal Piece of Service, the Memory of which would perpetuate itself to all his Successors; and that, if they well considered it, by undertaking his Defence and Assistance they defended and promoted their own Cause, since they could not be ignorant of the great Malice of the Pope against them, and how ardently the Catholic King desired to establish in their City a Government entirely dependent on himself.

BUT in *Florence* the People were of various Sentiments: Many blinded with the present Opportunity of saving their Money, had no Regard to Futurity. Others were more influenced by remembering that neither this King nor

Divisions
in *Florence*
on chusing
their Party
in the War

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Charles his Predecessor ever made any Acknowledgement or Requital of the Fidelity and Services of their Republic, and that *Lewis* had made them pay a great Price for his Engagement not to obstruct them in the Recovery of *Pisa*. They were taught by this Example to put no Trust in his Promises or Offers, and knew that they should never find in him any Gratitude for whatever Services they could do him. It would therefore be an Act of no small Rashness to resolve on entering into a War, by which, if it should be unprosperous, they would be sure to participate of more than their just Share in all its Calamities, and if it should prove successful they could not promise themselves the least Benefit. But, besides these, the most considerable Party was of those who out of Enmity or Ambition, or a Desire of another Form of Government, opposed the *Gonsaloniere*; magnifying the Reasons already given, and adding others, particularly that by standing neuter they should not excite the Hatred of any one of the Parties against themselves, nor give either of the two Kings any just Cause to complain of them.

Reasons
for a Neu-
trality.

For

For they were not bound to give the King of *France* any further Assistance than the A. D.
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Three Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of his own States, with which they had already accommodated him. Nor could this be taken ill by the King of *Aragon*, who would think himself a sufficient Gainer if they intermeddled no further in the Quarrel; but as those were always most praised, and held in Esteem, who kept their Faith, he would rather conceive Hopes from this Example that, whenever his Affairs required it, they would with the same Fidelity observe their Engagements with him, to which they were bound by the Treaty they had made both with him and the King of *France*. By this Conduct, if Peace should happen to be made between the Princes, their City would be respected and preserved by both Parties; if one obtained the Victory, he could not think himself injured, nor have any Cause of private Enmity, and therefore it would not be difficult to purchase his Friendship with the same Money that they must have spent in the War; and perhaps with a less Sum; a Method, by which

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their Ancestors had oftener saved their Liberty, than by Force of Arms: Whereas by taking contrary Measures they must expect to be at a vast Expence without any Necessity, and for the Sake of others, as long as the War lasted, and if the hostile Party gained the Victory, the Liberty and Safety of their Country would remain exposed to most manifest Danger.

Gonfaloniere for the French Party.

BUT the Gonfaloniere was of a different Opinion, and judged it the safest Way for the Republic to take up Arms for the King of *France*; and for that Reason he had before favoured the Council, and furnished the Pope with Matter for Resentment, with a View that the City being provoked by him, or falling under Suspicion, might be in a manner necessitated to take this Resolution*. And at this Time he demonstrated that the Counsel of those who would have them stand idle Spectators of

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* The Gonfaloniere was a hearty Favourer of the French Party, because by his perpetual Magistracy he had drawn upon himself the Envy of the Nobles in the Republic to a very high Degree, and had no other Way to support himself in his Office than by the Friendship and Forces of the French. *Giovio in his Life of Alfonso.*

a War carried on so near their Borders, and by Princes so much mightier than themselves, could not but be very pernicious. A Neutrality, said he, in the Wars of others was a commendable Measure, and the Occasion of avoiding a Multitude of Troubles and Expences; when your Forces are not so weak that you have Reason to be afraid of the Victory of any of the contending Parties; because, in such a Case it not only brings you Security, but it often happens that the Straits into which the Warriors plunge themselves furnish you with the Means of enlarging your own State. That you have given no Offence, nor just Cause of Complaint to any Party, is no Foundation for Security; for the Insolence of the Conqueror is very rarely, or, perhaps, never restrained by Justice or discreet Considerations. Great Princes think not themselves less injured when they are refused what they desire, but conceive an Indignation against every one that is not obsequious to their Will, and is not forward to venture his own Fortune on the same Bottom with theirs. It is Folly to imagine that the King of *France* will not think

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Reasons
against a
Neutra-
lity.

A. D. think himself injured when he shall find

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himself abandoned in so dangerous a Juncture, and shall see no Effects correspondent to the Faith which he had in the *Florentines*, to what he had firmly promised himself from them, and to their own Protestations and Assurances so often repeated to him. It was still more absurd to suppose that if the Pope and the King of *Aragon* came off Conquerors, they would not let loose their victorious Arms against their Republic, one out of an insatiable Malice, and both of them from a passionate Desire of establishing a Government that should be under their Direction, persuading themselves that the City, if left to its Liberty, would always have more Inclination to the *French* than to them; and, as an evident Proof of their Intention, had not the Pope, with the Catholic King's Approbation, appointed the Cardinal *de' Medici* his Legate to the Army? To persist in a Neutrality therefore could mean no otherwise than to chuse to become a Prey to the conquering Party; but by taking Part in the Quarrel, if they happened to espouse the successful Cause, the Consequence would at least

least be their own Security and Preservation; a Reward, since Affairs were reduced to so dangerous a Situation, of very great Importance; and if a Peace should be made, they would obtain the better Conditions. It was superfluous to dispute what Party had the best Claim to their Assistance, because none could doubt but that they ought rather to be directed by their antient Friendship, by which if the Republic had not been recompensed or rewarded, it had at least been several Times defended and preserved, than to have recourse to new Alliances, which would always be unfaithful, always suspected.

THESE Reasons brought by the Gonfaloniere were of no Effect, his Counsel being defeated chiefly by the Opposition of those who would be highly chagrined that the King of *France* should acknowledge himself indebted to the Endeavours of that Magistrate for his desired Conjunction with the *Florentines*. In these Debates, one Party ever interrupting another, they neither came to any Resolution to declare themselves on either Side, nor yet wholly
to

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Author
sent Am-
bassador
to the
King of
Aragon.

to stand neuter. Hence frequently proceeded uncertain and fluctuating Counsels, and Resolutions inconsistent with themselves, by which they deserved no Thanks, nor conferred any Obligation. On the contrary, in this wavering and irresolute Disposition, to the great Displeasure of the King of *France*, they sent Ambassador to the King of *Aragon* *Francesco Guicciardini*, the Writer of this History, and Doctor of Laws, at that time so young that he was by the Laws of his Country incapable of exercising any public Employment on Account of his Age*. His Instructions, however, were not of such a Nature as to moderate in any measure the ill Disposition of the Confederates.

Not long after the *Swiss* were returned to their Houses, the *Spanish* and Ecclesiastic Forces began to enter *Romagna*. At their Coming all the Towns which the Duke of *Ferrara* possessed on this Side the *Po*, except the Fort of *Genivolo*, surrendered at the bare Summons of a Trumpet.

But

* He was then but Twenty-nine Years of Age, and it was never known that in *Florence* one so young was entrusted with so considerable a Charge. He went on this Embassy in *January* 1512. *Porcacchi*.

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But because all the Artillery was not yet arrived in *Romagna*, and the Viceroy had stopped at *Imola* waiting for it, it was thought fit, that the Time might not be wasted without Action, to send *Pietro Navarra*, General of the *Spanish* Infantry, to besiege that Fort. But after he had begun to batter it with three Pieces of Cannon, finding that the Conquest would prove more difficult than he had imagined; because it was well fortified, and stoutly defended by a Garrison of an Hundred and Fifty Foot, he ordered two wooden Bridges to be made, that the Soldiers might the more easily pass the Ditch; which was full of Water. As soon as the Bridges were finished, which was on the third Day of the Siege, and the last of the Year 1511, a fierce Assault was given, and after long and valiant Fighting, the Besiegers scaling the Walls at length mastered the Place; the Garrison was almost all cut to Pieces, with *Vesitello* the Governor.

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1511.

Fort of
Genivole
taken.

NAVARRA left Two Hundred Foot in this Fort, contrary to the Advice of *Giovanni Vitelli*, who said the Walls were so weakened

1512.

A. D.

1512.

Retaken
by the
Duke of
Ferrara.

weakened by the Battery of the Cannon, that they could be no more defended before they were repaired. But the General was hardly returned with his Troops to join the Viceroy, when the Duke of *Ferrara* arrived before the Place with nine Pieces of heavy Cannon, and attacked it with such Fury, that this small Fortrefs being shattered in many Parts, he took it by Storm the same Day, and put the Governor with all the Garrison to the Sword, partly in fighting, and partly afterwards, to revenge the Death of his Men; the Duke himself was hit on the Head with a Stone, but by the Benefit of his Helmet received no Hurt.

Number
of the
Spanish
and Eccle-
siastic Ar-
mies.

IN the mean time the Ecclesiastic and *Spanish* Forces were all assembled at *Imola*; an Army formidable both for the Number and the Valour of the Officers and Soldiers. For the Troops of the King of *Aragon* were reported to consist of no less than a Thousand Men at Arms, Eight Hundred Jeneteers, and Eight Thousand *Spanish* Foot, among which, besides the Person of the Viceroy, were many Barons of the Kingdom

dom of *Naples*, of whom the most distinguished Personage for Reputation and Experience in War was *Fabritio Colonna*, who had the Title of Commander General, for *Prospero Colonna*, disdaining to be under the Command of the Viceroy, had refused to go on the Expedition. The Pope had Eight Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horse, and Eight Thousand Foot, under the Command of *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, *Giovanni Vitelli*, *Mala-testa Baglione*, Son of *Gian Pagolo*, *Raffaello de' Pazzi*, and others, all subject to the Orders of the Cardinal *de' Medici* the Legate, without any Captain General; for the Duke of *Termini*, chosen by the Pontiff, because he was a Confidant of the King of *Aragon*, had died at *Civita Castellana* as he was coming to the Army; and the Duke of *Urbino*, who usually commanded in that Quality, was absent, either because it so pleased the Pope, or because he thought it beneath his Dignity to yield Obedience, especially in the Towns of the Church, to the Viceroy as Captain General of the whole Confederate Army.

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WITH these Forces, which were abundantly provided with Artillery, almost all of it brought from the Kingdom of *Naples*, it was resolved to lay Siege to *Bologna*; not because they were ignorant that it was a very difficult Undertaking, since it was easy for the *French* to succour the Place; but because there was no other Enterprize in View but what was attended with greater Difficulties and Obstructions; and to keep such numerous and fine Troops unemployed; would too plainly argue Timidity; and such were the pressing Instances of the Pope, that whoever should propose to his Consideration the Difficulties, would only give him Occasion to believe and lament that he already begun to see into the Artifices and Frauds of the *Spaniards*. The Viceroy therefore marched with the Army, and encamped between the River *Lidice* and *Bologna*, where after making the necessary Preparations for the Siege of the City; and turning the Course of the Waters in the Canals that are cut from the Rivers *Reno* and *Savano* to *Bologna*, he approached the Walls, extending

ing the greater Part of the Troops between the Mountain and the Road that leads from *Bologna* to *Romagna*, because that Quarter lay most convenient for receiving his Convoys of Provisions. Between the Bridge of *Reno* situated on the *Roman Road* that goes to *Lombardy*, and the Gate of *San Felice* on the same Road, *Fabritio Colonna* went to post himself with the Vanguard, consisting of Seven Hundred Men at Arms, Five Hundred Light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, for the more easily preventing the *French* from succouring the Place on that Side. And that they might have the Command of the Mountains, they posted Part of the Troops in the Monastery of *San Michele in Bosco* seated on an Eminence very near the City, and commanding it; they took Possession also of the Church of *Santa Maria del Monte* situated above the Monastery. In *Bologna*, besides the People that wore Arms, though perhaps more out of Custom than a warlike Disposition, were some Horse and Foot of the *Bentivogli*, and *Foix* had ordered thither Two Thousand German Foot and Two Hundred Lances under

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1512.

Bologna
invested
by the
Confederate Army

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1512.

Odet de Foix and Yves d'Aligre, famous Generals, the latter for his long Experience in War, and the other for his noble Blood, and the manifest Signs of Valour and Courage that appeared in his Conduct and Behaviour; there were also two other great Officers, *Fajetta*, and *Vicenzo* surnamed the *Great Devil*. The Besieged, however, had more Dependence on the Succours promised by *Foix* than on their own Forces, considering the great Compass of the City, the Situation of Part of the Mountain by which they were much incommoded, and that there were no other Fortifications but such as had been raised in Haste against the present Danger. Many of the Nobility and of the common People were suspected by the *Bentivogli*, and the *Spaniards*, of ancient Renown (confirmed by their late Attack of the Fort of *Genivolo*) for their Agility and Dexterity in besieging and storming Towns, were in high Reputation. But their Spirits were revived by the extremely slow Proceedings of the Enemy, who stood nine Days idle about the Walls, without attempting any thing, but planting two Sakers and two Culverins

on

on the Monastery of *San Michele*, with ^{A. D.} which they fired at random, and without ^{1512.} certain Aim, into the City, to annoy the Inhabitants and the Houses. But they soon desisted, finding by Experience that they did little or no Damage to their Enemies, and only wasted their Ammunition to no Purpose. The Cause of this extraordinary Slowness was the Advice they had received, on the Day they first approached the Place, that *Foix* was advanced to *Finale*, and was assembling his Forces from all Parts; and it was reported, with great Appearance of Truth, that he was ordered to run all Hazards for the Preservation of a City, the Loss of which would be very detrimental to his Master's Interest and his own Reputation. Hence it came necessarily to be considered, not only on what Quarter it was most expedient to erect a Battery for the more easy and certain Reducing of the Place, but also how to prevent the *French* Succours from entering it. It was resolved therefore, in the first Council of War, that *Fabritio Colonna*, being first well furnished with Provisions, should pass about on the other Side of the

Various
Methods
proposed
for con-
ducting
the Siege.

Town, and post himself on the Hill below *Santa Maria del Monte*; a Situation very convenient for opposing the Entrance of any Forces into *Bologna*, and yet not so far distant from the rest of the Army, but that, if any Danger happened, the Troops might be timely relieved; and that at the same time they should begin, from the Side where they were encamped, or from some Place not far distant, to batter the Town. The Authors of this Counsel alledged that it was not to be supposed that, since the Preservation of all that the *French* possessed in *Italy* depended on preserving their Army, *Foix* would make any Attempt, in the Execution of which he might be forced to come to a Battle; or that he ever had it in his Thoughts, even if he knew that he might do it with Security, to employ himself with his whole Army in *Bologna*, and by that means deprive himself of all Opportunities, whatever Necessity there might be, of succouring the State of *Milan*; since he was not entirely secure of the Movements of the *Swiss*, but was under greater Apprehensions that it would be invaded by the *Venetian* Army, which

which was advanced to the Borders of the *Veronese*, and threatened to attack *Brescia*. A. D.
1512.

But the next Day these Measures were disapproved by almost all those who had consented to them, on considering that they could not assure themselves that the *French* Army would not come, and if it did come, that the Vanguard alone would be too weak to resist its Force; and that a Resolution supported by no other Foundation than what lay in the Power of the Enemy to alter or reverse, was by no means to be approved. The Viceroy therefore embraced the Opinion of *Pietro Navarra*, who communicated it to none but him, and accordingly ordered the Army, after providing themselves with Victuals for five Days, and leaving only a Garrison in the Church of *San Michele*, to remove to the opposite Part of the City, whence he might prevent the Enemy's Army from entering it, and as the Town was not fortified on that Side, where no Attack was ever apprehended, he might undoubtedly reduce it in five Days. But as soon as this Resolution was made public, there was none that did not openly condemn the Removal of the Army

A. D. to a Place entirely destitute of Provisions,
^{1512.} with which they were supplied only from
Romagna, in consequence of which, if
they did not accomplish their Design in
five Days, the Army must infallibly be
scattered or destroyed. And who, said
Fabritio Colonna, can absolutely promise
himself Success in so short a Time? Who
would chuse, in Reliance upon Hopes that
are very fallacious in their own Nature,
and subject to many Accidents, expose
himself to so many Dangers? And who
does not see that if we fail of our Enter-
prise within the assigned Time, and have
in our Front *Bologna*, where is a numerous
People; and many Soldiers, the *French*
at our Backs, and the Peasants our Ene-
mies, it will be impracticable for us to re-
treat with famished, disordered and dis-
pirited Troops without Ruin and De-
struction? Others proposed to add more
Foot to the Vanguard, which they would
have to be posted beyond *Bologna*, near
the Foot of the Mountain, between the
Gates of *Saragoza* and *San Felice*, within
strong Entrenchments, and to batter the
Town on that Side, where it was not only
weakest

weakest in Walls and Fortifications, but, by planting some Pieces of Cannon on the Mountain, they could take in Flank those that defended the Breach while they gave the Assault. But this Advice was also rejected as insignificant to prevent the Approach of the *French*, and also as dangerous, because if this Detachment should happen to be attacked, the Army, tho' it had the Command of the Mountains, could not come to its Relief under three Hours.

IN this doubtful Situation, it being easier to reject, and with good Reasons, the Plans proposed by others, than to offer any new ones that would merit Approbation, the Generals at length agreed to attack the Place on that Side where the Army lay encamped ; to which they were induced, among other Considerations, because *Foix* by his long Delays had made them flatter themselves that he would not come at all. They began therefore to level the Ground for bringing the Artillery near the Walls, and recalled the Vanguard to the Camp. But

A. D.

1512.

soon after they had repeated Advices that the *French* Troops continually increased at *Finale*, and their Apprehensions of the Coming of *Foix* returned, whence began to arise a Variety of new Opinions; for tho' all agreed that if he approached they must find some Means to attack him before he entered *Bologna*, yet many represented that, in such a Case, the Removal of the Cannon planted before the Walls would occasion many Difficulties and Hindrances to the Army, which, in any pressing Emergency, might prove of most dangerous and pernicious Consequence. Others freely remonstrated that it was no less shameful than detrimental to remain so many Days before the Walls without Action, which at the same time raised the Spirits of the Enemies within the Place, and gave Time to their Friends without to relieve it: They ought not therefore to delay planting the Artillery, but in such a Place as that it might conveniently be drawn off; and the Ground must be levelled to such a Space, as that the Army might freely move together with the Cannon to oppose the *French*. The

Legate

Obstacles
to the En-
terprize.

Legate very heartily espoused the Opinion of those who advised to begin with battering the Town; for he was tired with such Delays, and was not without Suspicion that they were occasioned by the artful Proceeding of the *Spaniards* in pursuance of Orders from their King; and he was vexed to think that if he had immediately on his first Approach set about battering the City, he might perhaps by this time have made himself Master of it. He thought it not the best Way to go on multiplying Blunders, by lying before the City in the Posture of Enemies, and at the same time shewing no Signs of having the Resolution to attack it. And he was every Day stimulated by Expresses and Messages from the Pontiff, and knew no longer what to answer, nor what Excuses to make, for *Julius* would no more be fed with vain Hopes and Promises.

THE Viceroy was piqued at this Uneasiness of the Cardinal, and highly resented that a Person not trained up in Arms and military Exercises should be solicitous to make himself the Author of
pre-

A. D.
1512.

precipitous Resolutions, not considering that the Interests of the public in general were under Debate in the present Consultations, and that it was impossible to proceed with such Maturity but that greater still was required: It was customary, he said, for Pontiffs and Republics voluntarily to undertake Wars, but when the Charges and Vexations that attended them grew too heavy upon their Hands, they desired to put an End to them as soon as possible; and that he ought to leave the Resolutions to the Generals, who had the same Intentions as himself, but more Experience in War. At last *Pietro Navarra*, to whose Judgment the Viceroy paid great Deference, declared his Opinion that in an Affair of so great Moment they ought not to spend two or three Days in coming to a Resolution, but continue to make the necessary Provisions for the Siege of *Bologna*, and for coming to a Battle with the Enemy, in which Step they were to regulate their Proceedings by the Motions of the *French*. There did not appear for two Days any Grounds for taking a better Resolution, for *Foix*,
who

who had reduced *Cento*, *la Pieve*, and many Castles in the *Bolognese*, continued still encamped at *Finale*, intent on assembling his Troops, which being quartered in several Places, and the Foot which he had listd marching but slowly, it required some Time to get them together. As there was then no apparent Reason for any longer deferring the Attack, a Battery was at last erected against the Walls, at the Distance of about Thirty Braces from the Gate of *San Stefano*, which leads to *Florence*, where the Wall in turning towards the Gate called *Castiglione*, which looks towards the Mountain, forms an Angle. At the same time *Pietro Navarra* was employed in constructing a Mine more towards the Gate of *Castiglione*, at that Part of the Wall within which stands a little Chapel called *Baracana*, with an Intent that, by giving the Assault in two Places at once, the Besieged being divided might find it more difficult to make Resistance than if they were united, and had only one Place to defend. Besides, not to abandon all Care of opposing the *French*, the Vanguard was ordered

A. D.

1512.

Bologna
besieged.

A. D.

1512.

dered to repossess themselves of their former Post. The Cannon in one Day ruined little less than One Hundred Braces of Wall, and the Turret of the Gate was so shattered that it was rendered defenceless, and the Besieged abandoned it; so that an Assault might have been conveniently given on that Part, had not the Besiegers waited till the Mine which was begun should be perfected and ready to spring, tho' the Rashness of the Soldiers had almost hurried them on in a disorderly Manner to storm the Place on the same Day. For some *Spanish* Foot having mounted by a Ladder to a Hole made in the Turret, descended from thence into a little House adjoining to the Wall on the Inside, where was no Guard. This being perceived by others of their Comrades, they would almost all of them have hurried thither in tumultuous Disorder, had not the Officers, alarmed by the Noise, ran in all Haste and prevented them. And the Besieged having pointed a Cannon against those that were got within, destroyed Part of them, and the rest fled out of a Place into which they had inconsiderately

considerately entered. While the Mine was preparing the Army was employed in making wooden Bridges, and providing Heaps of Fascines for filling the Ditches, that the Foot might approach the Breaches as it were on plain Ground. They fired also with some Pieces of Cannon upon the Ruins of the Wall, to prevent the Besieged from lodging themselves there for defending them when the Assault should be given. The *French* Officers seeing these Preparations, and finding that the People began to be intimidated, immediately sent to demand Succours of *Foix*. That General the same Day ordered thither a Thousand Foot, and the next Day sent an Hundred and Eighty Lances; by which Proceeding he begat a firm Belief in the Enemy that he had resolved to advance no farther; for it did not appear probable that, if he had any other Intention, he would have sent off Part of his Forces: And indeed such was his real Design; for judging the Reinforcements he had sent sufficient to defend *Bologna*, he did not chuse to try the Fortune of a Battle without Necessity. The Mine at last being finished,

and

A. D. and the Army drawn up in Order for im-

1512.

Strange
Effect of
a Mine.

mediately giving the Assault, for prosecuting of which with greater Force the Vanguard was recalled, the same was sprung, and with a horrible Noise and Violence lifted up the Chapel and the Wall in such a Manner, that through the Space between the Ground and the Wall thus heaved up, those that were without had an open View of the City within, and of the Soldiers as they stood prepared to defend it. But the Wall immediately sinking down returned sound and entire to the very same Place whence the Violence of the Powder had forced it, and with all its Parts as firmly connected as if it had never been moved. The Assault thus being impracticable on that Side, the Generals did not think fit to give it on the other Side alone. The *Bolognese* ascribed this Accident to a Miracle, thinking it impossible for a Wall to be exactly reunited to the same Foundations without the Interposition of the divine Power. Hence that Chapel came to be afterwards enlarged, and frequented with no small Devotion by the People.

THIS

THIS Success inclined *Foix*, who was now no longer under Apprehensions for *Bologna*, to march towards *Brescia*, because he had received Intelligence that the *Venetian* Army was in Motion towards that City, for which he was under no small Concern, as it was left but ill provided on account of the Danger of *Bologna*, and he was not without Suspicions of a secret Conspiracy among the Inhabitants of the Place. But the Intreaties of the Officers that were in *Bologna*, sometimes representing to him that the Danger of that City would be greater than it was before, if he marched off, sometimes giving him Hopes that his Entrance into the Place would constrain the Enemy to raise the Siege, made him alter his Resolution. In pursuance of this Change of Measures, though contrary to the Opinion of almost all the General Officers, he decamped from *Finale* towards the Close of the Evening, and, marching with all his Army in Order of Battle through Snows and very sharp Winds, the next Morning two Hours after Day-break he entered by the Gate of *San Felice* into *Bologna*,

A. D. *logna*, having with him Thirteen Hundred

1512.

Bologna
relieved
by *Foix*.

Lances, Six Thousand *German* Foot, all which were placed in the Vanguard, and Eight Thousand Foot between *French* and *Italians*. After *Foix* had entered *Bologna*

a Council was held, in which it was proposed to attack the Enemy the next Morning in their Camp, for which End the Soldiers were to sally forth at three Gates, and the People to take the Way of the Mountain. They would have found them unapprised of their Arrival, since it is certain that their Commanders had not, during that Day and the greatest Part of the next, received the least Notice of it. But *Yves d'Alegre* advised that the Troops, which were greatly fatigued by the Difficulties of the March, should be allowed a Day to rest themselves, not imagining, neither he nor any one else, that so great an Army could, in the Day-time by the *Roman* Road, enter into a City which they were besieging without their Knowledge. And perhaps they would have continued in Ignorance another Day, if they had not happened to take a *Greek* Stradiot, who with some other Horse had sallied forth to skirmish.

skirmish. This Prisoner being asked *A. D.*
 what was doing in *Bologna*, answered that *1512.*
 they were not to expect the least Light
 from him, for he was arrived there but the
 Day before with the *French* Army. On
 this he was interrogated with wonder-
 ful Care and Sollicitude by the General
 Officers, who finding him constant in his
 Answers believed what he said to be
 Truth. A Resolution therefore was taken
 to raise the Siege, it being concluded that,
 as the Soldiers suffered greatly by the Se-
 verity of the Season, and from the Neigh-
 bourhood of the City, into which had en-
 tered such an Army, it was not safe to
 continue in their present Station. On the
 next Night therefore, which followed the *Siege of*
 19th Day of the Siege, they silently drew *Bologna*
 off their Cannon, and the Army was very *raised.*
 early in the Morning on its March for *Imola*,
 the Troops taking their Way thro' the
 Ground they had levelled when they came,
 and that lay on each Side of the main Road
 thro' which they drew their Artillery; and,
 having placed the Flower of the Forces in
 the Rear, they marched off in great Se-
 curity. For none of the Enemy sallied out

A. D. of *Bologna* but some *French* Horse, who
 1512. having plundered Part of the Ammunition
 and Provisions, and by that means beginning to fall into Disorder, were not without Loss repulsed within the Gates by *Matteſta Baglione* who brought up the Rear of the Army.

THE Siege being thus raised, *Foix* leaving Three Hundred Lances and Four Thousand Foot for the Security of *Bologna*, immediately set out with all possible Speed to relieve the Castle of *Brescia*, for the City was fallen into the Hands of the *Venetians* on the Day preceding that on which he made his Entrance into *Bologna*. For *Andrea Gritti*, by Orders of the Senate, which had been stimulated by Count *Luigi Avogaro*, a Nobleman of *Brescia*, and by almost all the Inhabitants of the Country, as also by the Hopes of an Insurrection in that City by the Influence of that Nobleman, taking with him Three Hundred Men at Arms, Thirteen Hundred light Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, passed the River *Adice* to *Albere*, a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Lignago*, and afterwards

afterwards forded the *Mincio* at the Mill on the bending of the River between *Goito* and *Valeggio*; from whence he proceeded to *Montechiaro*, and quartered that Night at *Castagnetolo*, a Village five Miles from *Brescia*, whence he ordered his light Horse to make a sudden Excursion up to the very Gates. Count *Luigi*, while all the Country were crying up the Name of *San Marco*, approached a Gate with Eight Hundred Men of the Valleys of *Eutropia* and *Sabia*, where he had excited an Insurrection, and ordered his Son with another Party to approach the Gates on the other Side of the City. But *Andrea Gritti* not being received within the Walls as he expected, and none of the Signals being made which had been appointed, and understanding also that the City was diligently guarded in all Parts, thought it best to proceed no farther; and in the mean time the Son of *Avogaro* was attacked by a Party of the Garrison, and taken Prisoner. *Gritti* retired to *Montagnana*, whence he had first set out, leaving a sufficient Guard at the Bridge which he had laid over the *Adice*. But in a few Days being recalled, he re-

A. D.
1512.

A. D.

1512.

passed the *Adice* with two Pieces of Cannon and four Falconets, and posted himself at *Castagnetolo*, Count *Luigi* with a vast Number of Peasants of those Valleys approaching at the same time within a Mile of *Brescia*. And though there was no Appearance from the City of any thing likely to favour their Design, yet *Gritti* being invited by a greater Concourse of People than he was the Time before, resolved to make an Attempt to force the Town. Approaching therefore the Walls with all the Peasants, he attacked them in three different Places at once; and though he was repulsed at the Gate of the Tower, he had better Success at the Gate of the *Piles* where *Avogaro* commanded, and at the Gate called the *Garzula*, where the Soldiers, led by *Baldassarre di Scipione*, entered, as some say, by the Iron Grate through which the River, which is also called *Garzula*, enters the Town*. The *French* resisted as well as they could, but seeing that the Enemies were got into the City, and that the *Brescians*, who had before been

City of
Brescia
taken by
the *Ven-*
tians.

* Or, in other Words, the Soldiers entered *Brescia* by the common Shore of the River *Garzula*, as *Giovio* expresses it.

THE WARS IN ITALY. 373

been prohibited by them from taking Arms, and had stood very quiet, began to stir in their Favour, they retired with the *Sieur de Lude*, the Governor, into the Castle, with the Loss of their Horses and Baggage. In the Tumult that Part which is called the little City, being separated from the rest of the City, and almost wholly inhabited by *Ghibellines*, was plundered, but the Houses of the *Guelfs* were spared.

THE Acquisition of *Brescia* was soon followed by the Surrender of *Bergamo*, by means of some of the Citizens, except the two Castles, one of which stands in the Middle of the City, the other half a Mile distant from it. The Towns of *Orci Vecchi*, *Orci Nuovi*, *Ponte Vico*, and many others in the circumjacent Country followed the Example of *Bergamo*; and the *Venetians* would, perhaps, have made a greater Progress, or at least have better established their Acquisitions, had they been as careful at *Venice*, where the Rejoicings were incredible, to send Troops and Artillery for reducing the Castle of *Brescia*, which was in no Condition to

A. D.

1512.

make much Resistance, as they were to create and send Magistrates to govern the recovered Towns. But the Damage which they received by their Negligence, was in proportion to the vast Diligence and Expedition of *M. de Foix*. That General having passed the *Po* at *Stellata* detached an Hundred and Fifty Lances and Five Hundred *French* Foot for the Security of *Ferrara*; after which he crossed the *Mincio* at the Bridge of the Mill, sending, while he was passing, to ask Leave of the Marquis of *Mantoua* to pass, either because by the Suddenness of the Demand he would leave no Room for Consultation, or that the News of his March might be the longer in reaching the *Venetians*. From thence he arrived the next Day at *Nugara* in the *Veronese*, and the Day following at *Ponte Pesere* and at *Treville* three Miles from *la Scala*, where receiving Intelligence that *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, who had escorted some *Venetian* Troops and Artillery to *Brescia*; was arrived from *Castel Franco* with Three Hundred Men at Arms, Four Hundred light Horse, and Twelve Hundred Foot, to take up his Quarters at
Ifola

Ifola della Scala, he immediately set out in Haste to attack them with Three Hundred Lances and Seven Hundred Archers, the rest of the Army, which could not keep Pace with them, being ordered to follow; but finding that the Enemy had left the Place an Hour before, he followed them with the same Expedition. *Gian Pagolo* had received Advice that *Bernardino dal Montone*, who was appointed to guard the Bridge at *Albere*, had, on Notice of the Approach of the *French*, broken it down for fear of being inclosed by them and by the *Germans* that were in *Verona*, whither *Cæsar* (who was freed from the Charge of *Friuli*, which, except *Gradisca*, was all returned under the Dominion of the *Venetians*) had a little before sent Three Thousand Foot, who had been employed in that Province. *Gian Pagolo* therefore would have gone to *Brescia*, had he not been acquainted that a little below *Verona* the River was fordable. Here, as he was on his March in order to pass it, he discovered at a good Distance *Foix*, who by his incredible Expedition had prevented the Fame of his Approach, and imagining

A. D. that he saw no other than Part of the
 1512.

Troops that were in *Verona*, he drew up his Men in Order of Battle, and with a firm Resolution expected the Enemy at the Tower of *Magnaniño*, near the *Adice*, and at a small Distance from the Tower of *la Scala*. The first Encounter with Lances was very fierce on both Sides, after which they betook themselves to their other Weapons, and fought valiantly for above an Hour, but still more and more to the Disadvantage of the *Venetians*, because their Enemies were continually reinforced by Parties from their Army that had remained behind; they rallied however several Times after they had been broken and put into Disorder. At length being overpowered by Numbers, they were totally routed and put to Flight, and Night coming on pursued to the River, which *Gian Pagolo* safely passed, but many of his Men were drowned. Of the *Venetians* were killed or taken about Ninety Men at Arms, among whom *Guido Rangone* and *Baldasfarre Signorello da Perugia* remained Prisoners; the Foot were scattered, and two Falconets, which were all they had, were

Venetians
 defeated
 by *Gaston*
de Foix.

were taken; the Loss of the *French* was *A. D.*
 very inconsiderable. The next Day they ^{1512.}
 met *Meleagro da Forli* with some *Ve-*
netian light Horse, who were easily put to
 Flight, and *Meleagro* was taken Prisoner.

Foix lost no Time, but on the ninth
 Day after he had quitted *Bologna*, took
 Post with his Vanguard in the Suburbs
 of *Brescia*, two Bowshots from the Gate of
Torre Lunga; the rest of his Army kept
 more behind along the Road that leads to
Peschiera. As soon as he was posted, with-
 out giving himself Time to breathe, he
 sent Part of his Foot to attack the Mo-
 nastery of *San Fridiano*, which is seated
 half way up the Hill under which he had
 his Quarters, and was guarded by a Num-
 ber of Peasants of the Valley of *Eutropia*.
 The Soldiers mounted the Hill at several
 Places, and being favoured by a great
 Shower of Rain that prevented the Firing
 of the Cannon planted on the Monastery,
 they broke in and put Part of the Garrison
 to the Sword. The next Day *Foix* sent a
 Trumpet to demand the Surrender of the
 City, on condition of Safety to the Persons
 and

A. D. and Effects of all that were in it, except
 1512. the *Venetians*. But a resolute Answer be-

ing returned in the Presence of *Andrea Gritti*, the General led about his Army to the other Part of the City, that he might be near the Castle, and posted himself in the Suburb of the Gate called *San Gianni*. The next Morning, as soon as it was Day, he chose out of all the Army above Four Hundred Men at Arms, clad all in white Armour, and dismounted, and Six Thousand Foot, Part *Gascons* Part *Germans*; then, putting himself also on foot, he mounted at the Side towards the Gate of the *Piles*, and entered the first Precinct of the Castle without Opposition. Here, after they had rested and refreshed themselves awhile, he animated them in a short Speech to descend undauntedly into that very rich and opulent City, where the Honour and the Plunder would without Comparison be greater than the Fatigue and the Danger. They were to encounter, he said, with *Venetian* Soldiers, who were manifestly inferior to them both in Number and Valour; for no Account must be made of a Multitude of People unexperienced in War,
 and

Feix's sanitizing
 Words to his Soldiers.

and already meditating on Means to escape without hazarding their Lives ; but it was rather to be expected that by their Cowardice and Indiscretion they would be the Cause of throwing all the rest into Disorder and Confusion. Lastly, he intreated them, as Men selected by himself for the bravest out of so flourishing an Army, to do nothing that might bring Shame upon themselves, or upon his Judgment of them ; and to consider how highly dishonourable and disgraceful it would be for Men who made a Profession of entering by Force into an Enemy's City against Soldiers, against Cannon, and against Walls and Fortifications, to be miserably disappointed of their Hopes on the present Occasion, when the Entrance lay open, and they would meet with no Opposition but only from Men. Immediately upon these Words he began to move from the Castle, his Foot marching before the Men at Arms. At going out they found some of the Enemy's Infantry provided with Artillery, who endeavoured to stop their Passage, but were easily forced to retire ; after which they resolutely descended by that Quarter into the

A. D.

1512.

the Square before the Palace of the General, which they call *il Burletto*, where the Troops of the *Venetians* were drawn up in close Order, and expected them with great Intrepidity. They fell immediately to close Fight, and the Battle was for a long Time very furious and terrible, one Party fighting for Self-preservation, the other not only for Glory, but for the Plunder of a City full of Riches, the Generals also combating with no less Ardor and Fierceness than the common Soldiers, and *Foix* in particular giving eminent Proofs of his fierce Courage and Valour. At last the *Venetian* Troops were driven out of the Square after a wonderful Defence, and the Conquerors dividing themselves into two Parties, one entered by the City, the other by the little City, but were stoutly resisted by the Soldiers and People in almost every Street and Corner. The *French* were however victorious every where, and pushed their Enemies before them, none falling to plunder till they were in possession of the whole Town, for such were the Orders of the General before they began the Attack, and whoever transgressed them

City re-
gained by
Foix and
sacked.

them was immediately killed by his Comrades. In these Encounters the *French* lost a great Number of Foot, and not a few of their Men at Arms; but of their Enemies were killed about Eight Thousand Men, partly of the People, partly *Venetian* Soldiers, the Number of whom before the Action was Five Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horse, and Eight Thousand Foot; among these *Federigo Contareno*, Proveditor of the light Horse, was killed by a Musket Shot in the Square, and all the rest were taken, except Two Hundred Stradiotti, who escaped by a Postern near the Gate of *San Nazzaro*, but met with little better Fortune than their Fellows, for falling among a Part of the *French* Army that had remained without the Town, they were almost all killed or taken. These *Frenchmen* after this entered the Town without any Difficulty by the same Gate, and fell to plunder with the rest, thus reaping the Fruits of the Labours and Dangers of their Companions. There remained Prisoners *Andrea Gritti*, *Antonio Justiniano*, sent by the Senate to be Governor of that City, *Gian Pagolo Manfrone* and his Son, the

A. D. 1512. the Chevalier *della Volpe*, *Baldassarre di Scipione*, a Son of *Antonio de' Pii*, Count *Luigi Avogaro* with one of his Sons, and *Domenico Busfeco* General of the *Stradiotti*. In the Pillage the Honour of the Nunneries was preserved inviolate by the Orders of *Foix*, but the Goods and the Persons that had fled thither for Refuge became a Prey to the Officers. Count *Luigi* was beheaded in the open Square, *Foix* himself being present, and satiating his Eyes with the Spectacle; and his two Sons, though for the present reprieved, not long after suffered the same Punishment. Thus fell *Brescia* into this miserable Calamity and Destruction by the Hands of the *French*, from whom its Inhabitants boast their Descent; and such was the sad Fate of that City which for Nobleness and Dignity was not inferior to any City in *Lombardy*, but in Riches, excepting *Milan*, superior to them all. For seven Days together was this unhappy Place left exposed to the Avarice, Lust, and Cruelty of the Soldiers, who made havock of all Things sacred and profane, while the Lives and Honours of the Citizens as well as their Goods

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Goods lay at their Mercy and Discretion. By these Exploits *M. de Foix* acquired vast Renown throughout Christendom, as a Commander deserving the highest Encomiums for having, by his Valour and Expedition, in the Space of fifteen Days, constrained the Ecclesiastic and *Spanish* Army to raise the Siege of *Bologna*, defeated in Battle *Gian Pagolo Baglione* with Part of the *Venetian* Forces, and recovered *Brescia* with such a mighty Slaughter of the Soldiers and Inhabitants; so that it was the Opinion of all who were Judges that *Italy* had not, for several Ages, seen such a rapid Train of Success in military Operations.

AFTER the Recovery of *Brescia* and the other lost Towns, among which *Bergamo*, having revolted only at the Instigation of a few Persons, had, before *Foix* entered *Brescia*, publicly recalled the *French*, the General spent some Time in settling the Affairs of those Quarters, and in reposing and reducing to Order the Troops, which were greatly fatigued by their long and laborious Services, and fallen into Disorder,

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Disorder, some of them in securing, others in sharing the Plunder. After this he resolved, in Obedience to the King's Orders, to march against the Army of the League, which, after retiring from the Walls of *Bologna*, had taken up their Quarters in the *Bolognese*. The King was obliged to take this Step for several very important Reasons, which laid him under a Necessity of entering on new Measures for the Security of his own States. For it began manifestly to appear that he could not avoid a War with the King of *England*, because though that Prince had at first in plain Words denied, and afterwards in dubious Expressions dissembled his Design, yet his Actions, which by no means agreed with his Speeches, could not but discover his real Intentions, since there were Advices from *Rome* that the Instrument by which that King acceded to the League was at last arrived there. It was known that in *England* Preparations were making of Men and Ships, and a Fleet was equipping in *Spain* to be sent to *England*, and the Minds of the *English* in general were very much set on carrying on a War in *France*.

France. . . It happened also very seasonably A. D.
1512. that the Pope's Galeas was arrived, laden with *Greek* Wines, Cheese and Sweetmeats, as a Present from his Holiness to the King and several of the Lords and Prelates, and received by all with wonderful Demonstrations of Joy, the whole Populace, which is wont to be affected with gaudy Vanities no less than with Things of Importance, crouding with high Satisfaction to the delightful Sight, and boasting that they saw, what was never before seen in their Island, a Ship under the Pontifical Flag. At last the Bishop of *Moravia*, who had so long carried on a Treaty between the Pope and the King of *France*, induced either by Conscience or by a Desire of the Cardinalship, made, before a Parliament of the whole Kingdom, a full Declaration, and gave ample Testimonies of the Justice of the Pope's Cause. It was resolved then by that Assembly to send Prelates to represent that Kingdom in the *Lateran* Council; and the King, at the Instances of the Pope's Ambassadors, gave Orders for the *French* Ambassador to depart, since it was not convenient that near

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War
breaks out
between
England
and
France.

the Person of a King, and in a Kingdom most devoted to the Church, should be seen the Representative of a Prince who so openly persecuted the Apostolic See. And now it came to be discovered that, by a private Agreement, the King of *England* had engaged to fit out a Fleet for infesting the maritime Parts of *Normandy* and *Bretany*, and to send into *Spain* Eight Thousand Foot, for making War, in Conjunction with the Forces of the King of *Aragon*, in the Dutchy of *Guyenne*. The King of *France* was extremely uneasy under these Apprehensions, because the Name of the *English* was dreadful to his Subjects from the Memory of their old Wars, and he was sensible that the Danger must be greater from the Conjunction of their Arms with those of the *Spaniards*, and the more to be apprehended because he had sent all his Men at Arms, except Two Hundred Lances, into *Italy*. If he should recall them, either in whole or in part, his beloved Dutchy of *Milan* would be exposed to manifest Danger; and though he had newly increased his standing Troops with Eight Hundred Lances, yet with what Confidence could he

he, in so dangerous a Juncture, rely on ^{A. D. 1512.} Men unexperienced in War, and but just taken into his Service ?

HIS Fears were further aggravated by his Jealousy, which every Day increased, of *Cæsar's* detaching himself from his Alliance ; for though *Andrea de Burgo*, who had been sent to that Prince with mighty Expectations, was returned, and had made his Report that *Cæsar* was disposed to observe the Confederacy, yet he offered very hard Conditions, intermixed with various Complaints. For he demanded Security ^{*Cæsar's* Demands of the King of France.} for his being put in Possession of all that belonged to him by the Articles of *Cambray*, protesting he could no longer trust to bare Promises, since he knew, from the Beginning and ever afterwards, that the King would be very uneasy at his Acquisition of *Padoua* ; and that to waste and exhaust, and to harrafs him with perpetual Labours and Difficulties, he had freely spent Two Hundred Thousand Ducats yearly, because he knew that it would press harder upon his Necessities to be obliged at the same time to spend Fifty

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Thousand : That he had refused the last Year to suffer *Trivulzio* to enter into his Service, because he was a General qualified by his Affection to the Cause, and by military Knowledge would have put a speedy End to the War. He demanded also the King's second Daughter, not yet two Years old, to be espoused to his Grandson with *Burgundy* in Dowry, and that she should immediately be delivered to him : That the Causes of *Ferrara*, *Bologna*, and the Council should be referred to his sole Determination : That the *French* Army should not advance towards *Rome* ; and protested also that he could by no means suffer the King to enlarge his Dominions in any Part of *Italy*. These Conditions, though very grievous and almost intolerable in themselves, were still rendered much harder by knowing that there was no Security that they would not be altered as Occasion served, or according to the fickle Custom of that Prince. But the Iniquity of the Conditions proposed was rather a manifest Argument that, having resolved to break off his Alliance with the King of *France*, he was willing to find some plausible Pretence

King of
France
perplex'd.

tence for putting it in Execution; especially since several Marks of an evil Disposition might be discerned, not only in his Words but also in his Actions. For no Proxies, as had been so often promised, were sent with *Burgo*, in order to repair to the *Pisan* Council; on the contrary, tho' the Convocation of Prelates in *Ausburg* had at last publicly decreed that the *Pisan* Council was schismatic and detestable; they had added this moderate Clause that they were ready to change their Opinion on the Evidence of more effectual Reasons to the contrary. And yet the King of *France*, notwithstanding this Usage, at a Time when he had most Occasion to unite all his Forces, was constrained, at the Request of *Cæsar*, to keep Two Hundred Lances and Three Thousand Foot in *Verona*, and a Thousand Foot to garrison *Lignago*. Besides, the King was under great Anxiety of Mind for fear of the *Swiss*; for though he was permitted to send the Bailif of *Amiens* to their Diet with a most ample Commission, having prudently resolved (if those Resolutions can be called prudent which are taken after the Oppor-

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tunities in which they can be of any Service are past) to spare no Sums of Money for regaining their Friendship, yet the very ardent Hatred of the common People, and the efficacious Persuasions of the Cardinal of *Sion*, prevailing over the Authority of those who had from Diet to Diet prevented them from taking any Resolution contrary to the King's Interest, it was perceived that they were inclined to grant a Body of Six Thousand Foot for the Service of the Confederates, who had demanded them in order to oppose them to the firm and well disciplined Battalions of the *German* Infantry. Under all these Apprehensions the King found himself besides entirely deprived of all Hopes of an Agreement, tho' the Cardinal of *Nantz*, and the Cardinal of *Strigonia*, a very powerful Prelate of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, had never omitted treating about it during the Heat of the War. For the Pope peremptorily answered that he would hearken to no Terms till the *Pisan* Conventicle was abolished, and the Church put in Possession of her Cities of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*. Nor did he shew less Severity in his Actions,

Actions, for he had lately degraded many *French* Prelates who had assisted at that Council, and *Filippo Decio*, one of the most excellent Lawyers of that Age, because he had written and disputed for the Justice of that Cause, and had attended the Cardinals as their Counsellor for the Direction of their Proceedings according to Law. Nor had the King in the midst of those Difficulties and Dangers that threatened him from so many Quarters, any firm or sure Support in any Part of *Italy*, For the States of *Ferrara* and *Bologna* had been and still were vexatious and expensive to him; and from the *Florentines*, with whom he had renewed his Instances that they would join with him in attacking *Romagna*, he could draw none but general Answers; nay, he had some Suspicion of their Inclinations, because an Ambassador from the Viceroy of *Naples* constantly resided at *Florence*, and much more because they had sent an Ambassador to the Catholic King, and no longer communicated their Affairs to him as usual; but most of all because when he had solicited them to prolong the League, which

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would expire within a few Months, without demanding any Money or any other burdensome Obligation from them, they went on temporising, that they might be at Liberty to chuse what Party they should at that Time judge best suited to their Interest. The Pope willing to cherish this Disposition in the *Florentines*, that he might not, by an Excess of Severity, induce them to employ their Arms in favour of the King of *France*, granted them, without their demanding it in the Name of the Public, Absolution from their Censures, and sent *Giovanni Gozzadini*, a *Bolognese*, and one of the Clerks of the Apostolic Chamber, as his Nuncio, to *Florence*, with gracious Offers, endeavouring by all means to alleviate the Suspicions they had conceived of him.

THE King then finding himself alone against so many either declared Enemies or ready to declare against him, and knowing that it would be very difficult for him to withstand their united Attacks, commanded *Foix* to march with all Speed against the Enemy's Army, promising himself

himself the Victory from the Superiority of his Forces. The General was to make no Scruple of attacking *Rome* and the Pontiff; for if he succeeded the King thought he might look upon himself as delivered out of his great Dangers. And the better to justify, and lessen the Scandal of such an Enterprize, it was to be undertaken by the Authority of the *Pisan* Council, which was to depute a Legate to attend the Army, and receive the conquered Towns in their Name. *Foix* therefore, pursuant to his Orders, marched from *Brescia*, and arrived at *Finale*, where he halted some Days to make a Magazine of Provisions, which were brought from *Lombardy*, and to assemble all the Forces which the King had in *Italy* except the necessary Garrisons, and also on account of the very rainy Season. From hence he proceeded to *San Giorgio* in the *Bolognese*, where he received some new Reinforcements from *France*, consisting of a Thousand *Gascon* Foot, a Thousand Volunteers, and a Thousand *Picards*; these last were choice Troops, and in great Esteem among the *French*; so that the real Number of the Troops was Five Thousand

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Number
of the
French
Army.

Thousand *German* Foot, Five Thousand *Gascons*, and Eight Thousand *Italians* and *French*, and Sixteen Thousand Lances including Two Hundred Gentlemen*. This Army was to be joined by the Duke of *Ferrara* with an Hundred Men at Arms, Two Hundred light Horse, and a numerous Train of very good Artillery, for *Foix* had left his own at *Finale*, being prevented from conveying it by Land by the Difficulty of the Roads. At the same time was on his Way to the Army the Cardinal of *San Severino*, who was appointed by the Council Legate of *Bologna*; a Cardinal of a fierce and daring Spirit, and more inclined to the Exercise of Arms than to sacerdotal Offices and Contemplations. All Things being thus settled, *Foix* directed his March towards the Enemy, with an eager Desire of coming to a Battle, to which he was more and more stimulated by the Orders of his King, as well as by the Ferocity of his natural Temper; and by a Thirst after Glory, which was the more inflamed by his late happy Successes. He was not however
so

* Of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

so far transported with this Ardor, as to have it in his Thoughts to attack the Enemy rashly and at a Disadvantage, but to approach their Camp, and to try whether they were willing to venture an Engagement in a Place where the Situation would give them no Advantage over him, or else by intercepting their Convoys of Provisions to reduce them to a Necessity of fighting. But far different were the Designs of the Enemy, whose Army, after the Duke of *Urbino's* Regiment had left them under Pretence of some Difference that arose, was reported to consist of Four-
 teen Hundred Men at Arms, a Thousand light Horse, and Seven Thousand *Spanish* Foot, besides Three Thousand *Italians* newly levied. For imagining the *French*, besides their Superiority in Number, to have a more valiant Cavalry, they did not think it safe to hazard a Battle on equal Ground, at least before the Arrival of Six Thousand *Swiss*, whom the Cantons had lately consented to grant, and the Cardinal of *Sion* and twelve Agents of that Nation were gone to *Venice* to treat about lifting them at the common Expence of
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of the
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the Pope and the *Venetians*. These Reasons were enforced by the King of *Aragon*, who, both by Letters and proper Persons, signified his Resolution that they should avoid as much as possible a Battle; for his Hopes principally depended on what the *French* King chiefly dreaded, which was, to spin out the Time by standing on the Defensive till the King of *England* and himself should begin a War in *France*, which would oblige that King to recall all or the greater Part of his Forces beyond the Mountains, and consequently the War in *Italy* would be finished without Blood or Danger. For the same Reason he would even at the Beginning have prevented the Attempt on *Bologna*, had he not been fatigued by the Instances and vexatious Complaints of the Pope.

Proceed-
ings of the
French and
Confede-
rate Ar-
mies.

THE Viceroy therefore and the other Generals had resolved always to encamp near the *French* Army for the Defence of the Cities of *Romagna*, and to prevent the Enemy from opening themselves a Way for marching to *Rome*; and continually to post themselves in places so strong, either
by

by Situation or by having a large Town behind them, that they could not be attacked but with very great Disadvantage, thinking it no Disgrace to retire as often as there should be Occasion ; but judging, as military Men ought, that they were not to be attentive to Reports or outward Appearances, but principally to obtain the Victory, which would undoubtedly be followed by Reputation, Glory, and Praises from the Public.* Pursuant to this Resolution, on the Day that the *French* encamped at *Castel Guelfo* and *Medicina*, the Confederates, who were encamped near these Places, retired under the Walls of *Imola*. The next Day the *French* advanced within a Mile and half of *Imola*, but the Enemies keeping their Place in Order of Battle, not chusing to attack them under so great Disadvantage, they passed more forwards, and their Vanguard encamped at *Bubano*, a Castle four Miles distant from *Imola*, and the other Divisions of their Army at *Mordano* and *Bagnara*, Towns a little above a Mile distant from one another, chusing to encamp in the main Road for the Convenience of Provisions,

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visions, which were safely conveyed from the River *Po*, because *Lugo*, *Bagniacavallo*, and the circumjacent Towns had been abandoned by the *Spaniards* as soon as *Foix* entered the *Bolognese*, and were returned under Obedience to the Duke of *Ferrara**. On the Day following the *Spaniards* marched to *Castel Bolognese*, leaving a sufficient Garrison in the Castle of *Imola*, and Sixty Men at Arms under *Giovanni Saffatello* in the Town, encamping on the main Road, and extending themselves towards the Mountain. And on the same Day the *French* took by Storm the Castle of *Solarolo*, and had surrendered to them *Cotignuola* and *Granarolo*, where they rested the next Day, their Enemies halting at a Place called *il Campo alle Mosche*†. In these little Shiftings of Places and Situations the Armies came so near

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* *De Foix* from *Brescia* went to *Reggio*, and from thence to wait on the Duke of *Ferrara*, where he indulged himself for some Days in Pleasures, and afterwards proceeded from Town to Town till he arrived at the City of *Ferrara*, making a Show of spending his Time in Feasts and Banqueting, while he was really intent on assembling his Troops with the utmost Speed for entering upon Action. *Anselmi*.

† *i. e.* the Field of Flies.

one another that they stood in Order of Battle with their Artillery before them, and their Faces turned one to another as if they were every Minute to join Battle; yet both of them proceeded with the utmost Circumspection and Order, one not to be compelled to fight except in a Place where the Advantage of Situation would counterballance the Inequality of Numbers and Strength, and the other to reduce their Enemies to a Necessity of fighting, but in such a Manner as that their Superiority of Force might not at the same time be controlled by the Disadvantage of the Place. In these Quarters *Foix* received fresh Orders from the King his Master to hasten a Battle, the same Reasons which had at first induced him to give Directions for that Purpose becoming more urgent, because the *Venetians*, though weakened by their Misfortune at *Brescia*, and very much pressed, first by the Intreaties and afterwards by Protestations and Menaces, of the Pope and the King of *Aragon*, having refused to make Peace with *Cæsar* unless he consented that they should retain *Vicenza*, had at last made a

Truce

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Truce with him in the Pope's Presence for eight Months; that each Part should keep what they had in Possession, and that the *Venetians* should pay unto *Cæsar* Fifty Thousand *Rhenish* Florins. Hence the King no longer doubted but that *Maximilian* had deserted him, and was at the same time certified that he was to expect a War against his Dominions on the other Side of the Mountains. For *Gieronimo Cabaviglia*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at his Court, having desired an Audience of the King in full Council, signified to his Most Christian Majesty that he was ordered by the King his Master to take his Leave, and in his Name to exhort his Majesty to desist from favouring the Tyrants of *Bologna* against the Church, and from disturbing, in so unjust a Cause, a Peace of so much Importance, and so beneficial to the Christian Commonwealth; offering him, if he were apprehensive of receiving any Damage by the Restitution of *Bologna*, to secure him by all the Methods he himself could desire; adding at last that he could not dispense with himself from defending the Church, as it was the Duty of every Christian Prince.

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DE FOIX now assuring himself that it was to no Purpose to keep near the Enemy, because, by the Conveniencies which they received from the Towns of *Romagna*, it would be very difficult to intercept their Convoys of Provisions, and impossible to force them to a Battle but under great Disadvantage; and finding also that his Army suffered in their Quarters for Want of Victuals, resolved, with the Advice of his General Officers, to lay Siege to *Ravenna*, in hopes that the Enemy would not suffer a City of such Importance to be lost before their Eyes, to the great Diminution of their Reputation, and consequently give him an Opportunity of engaging them on equal Ground. And lest the Enemy, on conjecturing his Design, should approach with their Army for covering *Ravenna*, he posted himself between *Cotignuola* and *Granarolo*, seven Miles distant from them, where he stayed four Days waiting for twelve Cannon and as many smaller Pieces of Artillery from *Ferrara*. The Enemy guessing his Intention dispatched away to *Ravenna* Marc' Antonio Colonna, who be-

Siege of
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fore he consented to go took care that the Legate, the Viceroy, *Fabritio*, *Pietro Navarra*, and all the other General Officers, should every one of them pass their Word of Honour, that if he should be besieged by the *French* they would march with the whole Army to his Relief. With *Marc' Antonio* went Sixty Men at Arms of his own Regiment, *Pietro da Castro* with an Hundred light Horse, and *Sallazart* and *Parades* with Six Hundred *Spanish* Foot. The rest of the Army encamped under the Walls of *Faenza* at the Gate that leads to *Ravenna*, in which Station they had a great Skirmish with the Enemy. At this Time *Foix* sent an Hundred Lances and Fifteen Hundred Foot to take the Castle of *Ruffi*, which had no other Garrison than the Men of the Place, who though at first, according to the Custom of the common People, they made a Shew of greater Boldness and Resolution, yet their Hearts soon failing, they began to treat of surrendering on the same Day they were invested. During the Parley the *French* seeing the People negligent of their Guard violently entered the Place, and plundered it, putting to the Sword above Two Hundred

dred Men, and making the rest Prisoners. From *Ruffi Foix* came before *Ravenna*, and the next Day took up his Quarters near the Walls in the Space between the two Rivers, in the Middle of which that City is situated. These Rivers have their Rife in the *Apennine* Mountains, where they separate *Romagna* from *Tuscany*; one of them, now called *Ronco*, was the *Vitis* of the Antients; the other named *Montone* is celebrated for being the first of the Rivers, except the *Po*, that rises from the left Side of the *Apennine*, and falls into the Sea without ever losing its Name. Between these two Rivers is seated the City of *Forli*, the *Montone* on the left Hand almost touching the Walls, the *Ronco* on the Right running at the Distance of two Miles. But when they come near to *Ravenna* they converge in such a Manner as to pass close under its Walls one on each Side, below which they mix their Waters, and enter the Sea, which is at present three Miles distant from the City, but formerly, as it is reported, washed its Walls. The *French* Army encamped on the Space between the two Rivers, having in its Front the Gate *Adriana*, which is almost

A. D. contiguous to the Bank of the *Montone*.

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The next Night they erected their Batteries partly against the Tower called *Roncona*, situated between the Gate *Adriana* and the *Ronco*, and partly beyond the *Montone*, whither Part of their Army had passed by a Bridge they had laid over the River. The Batteries were hastened as much as possible, that the Assault might be given before the Enemy, who were known to be already in Motion, made their Approach, and for a no less urgent Reason, which was, their being reduced to very great Straits for Want of Provisions, since the *Venetian* Troops, which were posted with some armed Vessels at *Fischeruolo*, had obstructed all Convoys from *Lombardy*, and by sinking some Boats at the Mouth of the Canal that enters the *Po* twelve Miles from *Ravenna*, and is navigable within two Miles of that City, had prevented the Entrance of any Vessels with Provisions from *Ferrara*; and to convey them by Land in Waggon was both difficult and dangerous. Besides these Difficulties the present Situation was also very inconvenient and dangerous for the Foragers, who were obliged to go seven or eight Miles from

from the Camp. For these urgent Reasons *A. D.*
Foix resolved to give the Assault the next 1512.

Day, though he knew that it was very difficult to enter the Place, because the Breach was no more than thirty Braces wide, nor was there any Access to it but by Scaling-ladders, since it was still very near three Braces from the Ground. To surmount these Difficulties by Dint of Valour and Discipline, and to kindle the Courage of his Soldiers by Emulation, the General divided his *German, Italian and French* Foot into three distinct Bodies, and out of every Company of Men at Arms selected Ten of the bravest, and directing them to cover themselves with the same Armour in which they fought on horseback, ordered them to march on Foot before the Infantry. They bravely approached the Walls, and gave a very terrible Assault, the Besieged making a most brave and resolute Defence, among whom *Marc' Antonio Colonna* greatly signalized himself, sparing no Fatigue, and dreading no Danger, but continually carrying Succours, now here now there, as he saw most Occasion. At last the *French* losing all Hopes of forcing their Way into the Town, and having received great Da-

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 fault
 given in
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mage from a Culverin planted on a Bastion, after fighting three Hours, retired to their Camp with the Loss of Three Hundred Foot, and some of their Men at Arms, and had as many of their Men wounded, among whom were *Chatillon*, and *Spinosa* General of the Artillery, who being hurt by the Cannon of the Place, both died a few Days after; *Federigo da Bozzolo* was also wounded, though but slightly. The next Day the *French* General changed his Scheme, and instead of fighting against Walls prepared to engage the Enemy in the Field. For the Generals of the Confederate Army resolving to keep their Word of Honour with *Marc' Antonio*, on the Motion of the *French* had entered *Forlì* seated between the said Rivers, and having passed the *Ronco* some Miles below it were advancing towards *Ravenna*. At the same time the Citizens, being terrified by the Assault given the Day before, sent out one of their Body, without the Knowledge of *Marc' Antonio*, to treat of a Surrendry*. But while the Time passed in going

* *Rossi* says, not with a real Design to surrender, but to amuse the *French* till the Army of the League approached.

going to and fro with Proposals and Answers, the Army of the League was discovered marching along the River. At this Sight the *French* immediately with great Noise and Hurry got under Arms, and formed themselves in proper Order, and removing the Cannon from before the Walls, directed them towards the Enemy. *De Foix* then consulted with his General Officers whether it were adviseable at that Instant to pass the River, and oppose the Enemy's Entrance into *Ravenna*: A Resolution which*, either the *French* would not have taken, or at least would have been impracticable for them to execute in proper Order, and with the necessary Expedition; whence it would have been easy for the Confederates to enter that Day into *Ravenna* through the Wood of *Pineta*, which lies between that City and the Sea, and consequently the *French* must have quitted *Romagna* with Disgrace for Want of Provisions. But the Allies either being ignorant of the Opportunity, and fearing they should be forced to come to a Battle while they were on their March in the open Field, or else imagining that *Ravenna* was

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Confederate Army
approaches the
French.

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sufficiently

* If the *Venetians* had advanced.

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sufficiently relieved by their Approach, because *Foix* durst not attempt another Assault, stopped short, contrary to all Expectation, and encamped at a Place called *Mulinaccio* three Miles from *Ravenna*, where they spent the rest of that Day and the Night following in working at a Ditch, as wide and as deep as the Shortness of Time would permit, before the Front of their Camp. At the same time Consultations were held by the *French* Generals, and not without Diversity of Opinions: For to give a new Assault to the City was judged very hazardous while the Breach was so small, and the Enemy at their Backs; to stay there without Hopes of making any further Progress could be of no Service, but rather impossible for Want of Provisions. To retire would be to give the *Spaniards* a greater Reputation than they had acquired the Day before by their advancing forwards; and to attack them in their Camp, which it was to be supposed they had fortified, would be extremely dangerous, and contrary to all their former Resolutions; and among all Dangers that ought to be avoided which might be succeeded

ceeded by greater Disasters, nor could any Disorder or Disaster be compared with a Defeat. In these Difficulties it was at last resolved, at the Sollicitations especially of *Foix*, as the safest as well as the most glorious Expedient, to march out as soon as it was Day and attack the Enemy. Pursuant to this Resolution they laid that Night a Bridge over the *Ronco*, and levelled the Slopes of the Banks on all Sides for facilitating the Passage.

EARLY the next Morning, which was the Eleventh Day of *April*, and highly solemnized in Memory of the most holy Resurrection, the *German* Foot passed over the Bridge, but almost the whole Vanguard and the main Battle waded the River. The Rear commanded by *Yves d'Alegre*, in which were Four Hundred Lances, remained on the Bank of the River towards *Ravenna*, in readiness to succour the Army on Occasion, or oppose any Sallies from the Garrison or People of *Ravenna*; and for the Guard of the Bridge laid over the *Montone* was left *Paris*, a *Scotchman*, with a Thousand Foot. The
French

A. D. *French* were disposed in Order of Battle as follows: The Vanguard with the Artillery in their Front, commanded by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and consisting of Seven Hundred Lances and the *German* Infantry, were drawn up on the Bank of the River, which was at their right Hand, the Foot being posted on the Left of the Horse. On the Side of the Vanguard and in the Flank were disposed the Foot of the main Battle, amounting to Eight Thousand, part *Gascons* part *Picards*; and after these, at a still greater Distance from the Bank of the River, was posted the last Body of Troops, consisting of *Italian* Foot under the Command of *Federigo da Bozzolo*, and amounting only to Five Thousand Men. For though *Foix* when he passed by *Bologna* had taken the Garrison with him, many of the Soldiers had deserted on account of the Scantiness of the Pay. On the Side of this Body of Forces were placed all the Archers and the light Horse, which exceeded the Number of Three Thousand. Behind all these Regiments, which did not extend themselves in a right Line, but bended in Form of a Half Moon, were posted

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Order of
Battle of
the *French*
Army.

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posted the Six Hundred Lances of the main Battle, commanded by *Palisse* in conjunction with the Cardinal of *San Severino*, Legate of the Council, a Man of a large Body and a great Spirit, and who being covered from Head to Foot with glittering Armour, acted the Part of a General much more than of a Cardinal or a Legate. As for *Foix*, he reserved to himself no particular Place or Charge, but selecting out of the whole Army thirty of the most valiant Gentlemen, chose rather to be at Liberty to oversee the whole Action, and send his Orders and Succours as Necessity required, being easily distinguished from the rest by the Splendor and Beauty of his Arms, and by his military Robe. As soon as the Army was ranged in Order he mounted on the Bank of the River, and with a most chearful Countenance, his Eyes full of Vigour, and as it were sparkling with Joy, kindled the Courage of his Soldiers, with an Eloquence, as it is reported, more than military, in the following Manner.

“ BEHOLD

A. D.

1512.

Speech of
de Foix to
his Army.

“ BEHOLD the Time is come, my Soldiers, which we have so long and eagerly desired, of fighting the Enemy in the open Field, which Fortune our indulgent Mother in so many Successes has this Day brought to pass by giving us an Opportunity of obtaining, with infinite Honour, the most glorious Victory that ever was obtained by any Army in the Memory of Man. For not only *Ravenna*, not only the Cities of *Romagna* will remain at your Discretion, but they will be the least Part of the Reward of your Valour, since there being nothing left in *Italy* to oppose your Arms, you may run without Resistance to *Rome*, where the immense Riches of that wicked Court, extracted during so many Ages from the Bowels of Christendom, will become your Prey, with such Quantities of the most stately Ornaments, and with such Heaps of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, and such rich Prisoners that the whole World will envy your Fortune. From *Rome* you may with the same Ease make an Excursion as far as *Naples*, to revenge the many Injuries that you have received.

ceived. I cannot form in my Imagination any Impediment to this your Happiness, when I consider your Valour, your Fortune, and the honourable Victories you have obtained in a few Days ; when I behold your Countenances, and when I reflect that there are very few of you who have not given a remarkable Testimony of their Valour by some notable Exploit before my Eyes. Our Enemies are the same *Spaniards* who on our Conjunction fled away from *Bologna* in so shameful a Manner by Night ; they are the same as they were a few Days ago, and no other than those who took Refuge under the Walls of *Imola* and *Faenza*, and in mountainous and difficult Places, to save themselves from us. That Nation never engaged with our Armies in the Kingdom of *Naples* on open and equal Ground, but always with the Advantage of Trenches, Rivers or Ditches, and never trusted to their Valour, but to Wiles and Snares. Neither are these Fellows the same *Spaniards* that were inured to the *Neapolitan* Wars, but new Levies, unexperienced, and such as never fought against
any

A. D.

1512.

A. D. any other Weapons than the Bows, Ar-
 1512. rows, and blunt Lances of the *Moors*.

And yet they were defeated with vast Dis-
 grace by that poor, feeble, faint-hearted
 Nation, in a Manner unarmed, and ignorant
 of all the Arts of War, but this last Year, in
 the Island of *Gerbe*, from whence this same
Pietro Navarra, a General of so great Re-
 nown among them, betook himself to
 Flight, leaving a memorable Example to
 all the World that there is a wide Differ-
 ence between battering of Walls with the
 Force of Gunpowder, or throwing them
 down with Mines secretly worked under
 the Earth, and fighting with true Forti-
 tude and Animosity. And now they stand
 inclosed within a Ditch made but this last
 Night, and under most terrible Appre-
 hensions, their Foot covered with Banks,
 and trust in their armed Waggons, as if
 the Battle were to be managed by such
 childish Instruments, and not with the
 Courage and Resolution of the Heart, and
 the Strength and Robustness of the Breast
 and Arms. Our Artillery, believe me,
 will bring them out of their Holes into the
 open and plain Field, where it will appear
 how

how much the Fury of the *French*, the Fierceness of the *Germans*, and the Bravery of the *Italians* are superior to the Cunning and Snares of the *Spaniards*. Nothing can diminish our Glory but that we are so much superior in Number, and indeed almost double to them; and yet none will accuse us of Cowardice for using this Advantage which Fortune has given us, but will lay the Blame on the Imprudence and Rashness of the Enemy, who are not induced to fight by Courage or Valour, but by the Authority of *Fabritio Colonna* on account of the Promises inconsiderately made to *Marc' Antonio*, or rather by the divine Justice to chastise by most deserved Punishments the Pride and enormous Vices of that false Pope *Julius*, and that Multitude of fraudulent and treacherous Practices with which the Goodness of our King has been abused by the perfidious King of *Aragon*. But what Reason have I to expatiate any further in Words? Or what Occasion is there to use superfluous Encouragements with Soldiers of such approved Valour, since all the Time I spend in speaking is but so long deferring your Victory?

A. D. Victory? March on then boldly, my brave
1512. Fellow-Soldiers, according to your Orders,
and be assured that this Day will bring
Empire to my King, and to you the
Riches of all *Italy*. I your General will
always be with you in every Place, and
expose my Life as usual to all Dangers,
thinking myself the happiest of all Generals,
since by this Day's Victory I shall
make my Soldiers richer and more glorious
than ever were any Soldiers or
Army for these Three Hundred Years
past.

AT these Words the Air resounded
with the Sounds of Trumpets and Drums,
and the cheerful Acclamations of the whole
Army. The Troops then began to move
towards the Enemy, who were less than
two Miles distant from the Place where
they had passed the River. Their Camp
was extended along the Bank, which was
on their Left, and at their Front was a Ditch
as deep as the Shortness of Time would
permit them to make it, and which winding
about to the Right encompassed the
whole Camp, except an Opening of twenty
Braces

Braces in the Front left for the Horse to *A. D.*
sally out for skirmishing. Within this ^{1512.}

Camp, as soon as they perceived the *Order of*
French began to pass the River, they ranged *Battle of*
themselves in Order of Battle as follows. *the Con-*
federate

The Vanguard, consisting of Eight Hun- *Army.*

dred Men at Arms, commanded by *Fa-*
britio Colonna, was disposed along the Bank.

of the River, and adjoining to these on the

Right was posted a Body of Six Thousand

Foot. Behind the Vanguard and along

the River was the main Battle, composed of

Six Hundred Lances, flanked by a Body

of Four Thousand Foot, under the Com-

mand of the Viceroy assisted by the Mar-

quis *della Palude*. In this Division came

also the Cardinal *de' Medici*, who was na-

turally purblind, of a mild Deportment,

in a Habit of Peace, and not only in out-

ward Show, but in his Actions and Be-

haviour, very unlike the Cardinal of *San*

Severino. Behind the main Battle, and

disposed also along the Bank of the River,

was the Rearguard, commanded by *Car-*

vagial, a *Spanish* General, consisting of

Four Hundred Men at Arms, flanked by

a Body of Four Thousand Foot. The

A. D. light Horse, over whom was Captain General *Ferrando Davala*, Marquis of *Pescara*, as yet very young, but of extraordinary Hopes, were posted on the Right at the Back of the Infantry, to succour any Part that should give Way. The Artillery was planted at the Head of the Men at Arms, and *Pietro Navarra*, who with a Battalion of Five Hundred chosen Foot was assigned no particular Post, had, on the Brink of the Ditch before the Infantry, placed thirty Waggon's resembling the falcated * Chariots of the Antients, loaded with small Pieces of Artillery, and armed with a very long Spear, that projected from the Top, for the better sustaining the furious Attack of the *French*. In this Order they stood ranged within the Fortification of their Ditch, expecting the Assault of the Enemy; which Disposition as it did them no Service in the End of the Action, so it appeared very prejudicial in the Beginning: For *Fabritio Colonna* had proposed to attack the Enemy when they began to pass the River, judging the Advantage of engaging only with one Part of them greater than what they could promise themselves from having

* Armed with Scythes.

having a small Ditch before them. But *A. D.*
Pietro Navarra, whose Counsels were *1512.*

respected by the Viceroy as Oracles, opposing this Measure, it was imprudently resolved to let them pass unmolested. The *French* then moving forwards, and being advanced within Two Hundred Braces of the Ditch, when they saw their Enemies stand still, and unwilling to leave their Camp, halted, that they might not give them that Advantage which they sought to gain. Hence both Armies stood immovable for more than two Hours, during which there was a continual Fire from the Artillery on both Sides, by which the *French* Foot suffered not a little, for *Navarra* had planted his Cannon on a Place from whence they were greatly annoyed. But the Duke of *Ferrara* drew a Part of the Artillery from the Rear of the Army, and with great Expedition conveyed it to a proper Place at the Point where the *French* Archers were posted. This Point, because the Army had the Form of a Crescent, was almost on the Back of the Enemy, who were terribly galled from thence in Flank, especially the Cavalry;

A. D. for *Pietro Navarra* had drawn off the *Spanish* Infantry to a lower Ground near the Bank of the River, and ordered them to lie flat on the Earth, by which Means they avoided the Shot. *Fabritio* cried out with a loud Voice, and by repeated Importunities and Messages intreated the Viceroy not to wait till they were all destroyed by the Cannon, but to march out with the Troops to Battle. But he was opposed by *Navarra* out of a perverse Ambition; for that Officer presuming that he could come off Conqueror by the Valour of the *Spanish* Foot, though all the rest perished, imagined that the more Loss the Army sustained, the more his Glory would be increased. But the *French* Artillery had made such Destruction among the Men at Arms and the light Horse, that it was no longer supportable; and it was a miserable Spectacle to behold sometimes Men and Horses promiscuously with horrible Cries falling dead to the Ground, sometimes Heads and Arms struck off from the rest of the Body, and bounding in the Air. *Fabritio* therefore crying out, “What must we all be shamefully sacrificed to the obstinate Malice

lice of one Rascal? And is this whole Army to be destroyed without killing one Enemy? Where is our Sense of so many Victories over the *French*? Shall the Honour of *Spain* and *Italy* be lost by Means of a *Navarrese*?" spurred out of the Ditch with his Men at Arms, without expecting Leave or Orders from the Viceroy, and was followed by all the Cavalry. Hence *Pietro Navarra* was obliged to give the Signal to his Foot, who raising themselves from the Ground with great Fierceness engaged the *German* Infantry, who were almost come upon them. All the Battalions and Squadrons thus charging one among another, there began a very great Battle, and without Doubt one of the greatest that *Italy* had seen for these many Years. For the Fight at the *Taro* was little better than a brisk Encounter with Lances, and the Engagements in the Kingdom of *Naples* were rather disorderly and inconsiderate Attacks than Battles, and in the Action in the *Ghiaradadda* only the lesser Part of the *Venetian* Army was engaged. But here all the Troops were intermingled in a Battle fought on plain

A. D.
1512.

Battle of
Ravenna.

A. D.

1512.

Ground, without the Impediments of Waters or Banks, where both Armies combated with Minds obstinately bent on Death or Victory, and inflamed not only with Danger, Glory, and Hope, but also with the Hatred of Nation against Nation. And it was a memorable Spectacle, in the hot Engagement between the *German* and *Spanish* Infantry, to see two very noted Officers, *Jacopo Empser* a *German*, and *Zamudio* a *Spaniard* advance before their Battalions, and encounter one another, as if it were by Challenge, in which Combat the *Spaniard* went off Conqueror by killing his Adversary. The Cavalry of the Army of the League was not at best equal to that of the *French*, and having been shattered and torn by the Artillery was become much inferior. Wherefore after they had sustained for some Time, more by Stoutness of Heart than by Strength of Arms, the Fury of the Enemy, *Rues d'Alegre* with the Rearguard and a Thousand Foot that were left at the *Montone* under *Palisse*, and now recalled, charging them in Flank, and *Fabritio Colonna* valiantly fighting being taken Prisoner

Confederates defeated.

soner by the Soldiers of the Duke of *Ferrara*, they turned their Backs, in which they did no more than follow the Example of their Generals; for the Viceroy and *Carvagiale*, without making the utmost Proof of the Valour of their Troops, betook themselves to Flight, carrying off with them the third Division, or Rearguard, almost entire, with *Antonio da Leva*, a Man at that Time of low Rank, though afterwards, by a continual Exercise of Arms for many Years, rising through all the military Degrees, he became a very famous General. The whole Body of light Horse had been already broken, and the Marquis of *Pescara* their Commander taken Prisoner, covered with Blood and Wounds. And the Marquis *della Palude*, who had led up the second Division, or main Battle, through a Field full of Ditches and Briars, in great Disorder, to the Fight, was also taken. The Ground was covered with dead Men and Horses, and yet the *Spanish* Infantry, though abandoned by the Horse, continued fighting with incredible Fierceness; and though, at the first Encounter with the *German* Foot, they

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had received some Damage from the firm and close Order of the Pikes, yet afterwards getting their Enemies within the Length of their Swords, and many of them covered with Targets, pushing with Daggers between the Legs of the *Germans*, they had penetrated with very great Slaughter almost to the Center of their Battalions. The *Gascon* Foot, who were posted by the *Germans* on the Ground between the River and a rising Bank, had attacked the *Italian* Infantry, who, though they had greatly suffered by the Artillery, would have repulsed them highly to their Honour, had not *Yves d'Alegre* entered among them with a Squadron of Horse. But the Fortune of that General did not answer his Valour, for his Son *Viverais* being almost immediately killed before his Eyes, the Father, unwilling to survive so great a Loss, threw himself with his Horse into the thickest of the Enemies, where fighting like a most valiant Captain, and killing several, he was at last cut to Pieces*. The *Italian* Foot, unable to resist

* *Alegre* longing to revenge the Death of his Son *Meliland*, who had, the Year before, been killed in *Ferrara* by

fist so great a Multitude, gave way; but A. D. 1512.
 Part of the *Spanish* Infantry hastening to support them they rallied. On the other Side the *German* Infantry, being sorely pressed by the other Part of the *Spaniards*, were hardly capable of making any Resistance; but the Cavalry of the Confederates being all fled out of the Field, *Foix* with a great Body of Horse turned to fall upon them. The *Spaniards* therefore rather retiring than driven out of the Field, without the least Disorder in their Ranks, took their Way between the River and the Bank, marching slowly and with a close Front, by the Strength of which they beat off the *French*, and began to disengage themselves; at which Time *Pietro Navarra*, chusing rather to die than to save himself, and therefore refusing to leave the Field, was made a Prisoner. But *Foix* thinking it intolerable that this *Spanish* Infantry should march off in Battle-Array like Conquerors, and knowing that the Victory was not perfect, if these were not broken

by some Soldiers of *Ramazotto*, an *Italian* Officer, went to take his Vengeance upon his Troops, where he lost his other Son *Vivarais*, and at last was killed himself. *Giovio Rossi*.

A. D.

1512

De Foix
killed.

broken and dispersed as the rest, went furiously to attack them with a Squadron of Horse, and did Execution upon the hindmost; but being surrounded, and thrown from his Horse, or, as some say, his Horse falling upon him while he was fighting, he received a mortal Thrust with a Pike in his Side. And if it be desirable, as it is believed, for a Man to die in the Height of his Prosperity, it is certain that he met with a most happy Death in dying after he had obtained so glorious a Victory*. He died very young, but highly celebrated throughout the World, having in less than three Months, and being a General almost before he was a Soldier, with incredible

* *De Foix* was greatly dissuaded by his Officers from pursuing the Infantry marching off in Order, telling him that he had done enough for his Honour in remaining Master of the Field, without tempting Fortune any farther. But, hurried on by his Fate, he told them that it would be no Victory while this Body of Men with their General went off safe and in Order of Battle. *Anselmi*. This Author also and *Giovio* write that *Foix* finding himself wounded by the *Spaniards* cried out several Times, that he was *Foix*, and Brother to the Queen of Spain; which, however, did not in the least avail him. But *Anselmi* gives no Credit to this Circumstance, saying, that though the Fear of Death is of mighty Efficacy, yet the Magnanimity of a royal Heart was sufficient to controul it.

incredible Ardor and Expedition, obtained so many Victories. Near him lay on the Ground for dead *Lautrec*, having received twenty Wounds; but being carried to *Ferrara*, he was by the diligent Care of the Surgeons recovered*. By the Death of *Foix* the *Spaniards* were suffered to pass off unmolested, the Remainder of the Army being dispersed and put to Flight, and the Baggage, Colours, and Cannon taken. The Pope's Legate was also taken by the *Stradiotti*, and carried to *Federigo da Bozzolo*, who made a Present of him to the Legate of the Council. There were taken also *Fabritio Colonna*, *Pietro Navarra*, the Marquis *della Palude*, the Marquis of *Bisonto*, the Marquis of *Pescara*, with many other Lords, Barons, and honourable Gentlemen, *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans*. Nothing is more uncertain than the Number of the Killed in Battles; but amidst the Variety of Accounts it is the most common Opinion that there died of both Armies at least Ten Thousand, of which one Third was of the *French*, and Two Thirds

A. D.

1512.

* *Lautrec*, afterwards Captain General of the *French* with unlimited Authority, was Cousin German to *Foix*.

A. D. 1512. Thirds of their Enemies; some talk of many more*, but they were without Question almost all of them of the most valiant and choice Soldiers, among whom belonging to the Ecclesiastic Forces was *Rafaello de' Pazzi*, an Officer of high Reputation; and great Numbers were wounded. But in this Respect the Loss of the Conqueror was without Comparison much the greater by the Death of *Foix*, *Yves d'Alegre*, and many of the *French* Nobility, General *Jacob*, and many other brave Officers of the *German* Infantry, by whose Valour, though at a vast Expence of their Blood, the Victory was in a great measure acquired, *Molard* also, with many other Officers of the *Gascons* and *Picards*, which Nations lost all their Glory that Day among the *French*. But all this Loss was exceeded by the Death of *Foix*, with whom perished the very Sinews and Spirits of that Army. Of the Vanquished that escaped out of the Field of Battle the greater Part fled

* *Giovio* and *Mocenigo* make the Slain Twenty Thousand; *Bembo* and *Anselmi* Eighteen Thousand; *Buonacorsi* Sixteen Thousand, and *Giustiniano* almost as many more, in which he little differs from *Rossi*; *Gradinico* makes the Killed above Twenty Thousand.

fled towards *Cesena*; whence they continued their Flight to more distant Places; nor did the Viceroy stop till he came to *Ancona*, where he arrived with a very few Horse. Many were stripped and murdered in their Flight; for the Peasants scoured all the Roads, and the Duke of *Urbino*, who, from his sending some time before *Baldassarre da Castiglione* to the King of *France*, and employing some trusty Persons as his Agents with *Foix*, was supposed to have entered into a private Agreement against his Uucle, not only raised the Country against those that fled, but sent his Soldiers to intercept them in the Territories of *Pesaro*; so that only those who took their Flight through the Dominions of the *Florentines*, were, by Orders of the Magistrates, confirmed by the Republic, suffered to pass unmolested.

THE victorious Army was no sooner returned to their Camp than the People of *Ravenna* sent Deputies to treat of surrendering their City; but when they had agreed, or were upon the Point of Agreement, and the Inhabitants, being employed in preparing

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Ravenna
taken and
sacked.

paring Provisions to be sent to the Camp, were negligent in guarding the Walls; the *German* and *Gascon* Foot entered through the Breach that had been made, and plundered the Town in a most barbarous Manner, their Cruelty being exasperated not only by their natural Hatred to the Name of the *Italians*, but by a Spirit of Revenge for the Loss they had sustained in the Battle. On the fourth Day after this *Marc' Antonio Colonna* gave up the Cittadel, into which he had retired, on Condition of Safety to the Persons and Effects, but obliging himself on the other hand, together with the rest of the Officers, not to bear Arms against the King of *France* nor the *Pisan* Council, till the next Festival of *S. Mary Magdalen*; and not many Days after Bishop *Vitello*, who commanded in the Castle with an Hundred and Fifty Men, agreed to surrender it on Terms of Safety for Life and Goods. The Cities of *Imola*, *Forli*, *Cesena*, and *Rimini*, and all the Castles of *Romagna*, except those of *Forli* and *Imola*, followed the Fortune of the Victory, and were received by the Legate in the Name of the Council.

BUT

BUT the *French* Army, by the Death of *Foix*, and the great Loss they had received, was become in a manner stupid, remaining idle in their Camp four Miles from *Ravenna*. For the Legate and *Pallissè*, on whom was devolved the Command (*Alfonso d'Este* being returned to *Ferrara*) being uncertain of the King's Determination, expected their Commissions; and had not yet that Authority with the Soldiers which was required to put the Army in Motion; and the Troops were employed in distributing, or bestowing in Places of Security, the Goods they had plundered, and so much weakened and dispirited by the Victory which had cost them so much Blood, that they look'd as if they had been beaten, and had not the Face of Conquerors. Now it was that all the Soldiers, with Tears and Lamentations, called upon the Name of *Foix*, whom they would have followed through the World, surmounting all Difficulties, and despising all Dangers. Nor was it doubted but that, being pushed forward by the Impulse of his natural Ferocity,

and

Death of
Foix de-
plored.

A. D.

1512.

and by the Promises which the King, it was said, had made him that he should conquer *Naples* for himself, he would, with his usual Expedition; have hastened to *Rome*, whence the Pope with his Court, having no other Hopes of saving themselves, must have fled with Precipitation.

THE News of the Defeat arrived at *Rome* on the thirteenth Day of *April*, being brought by *Ottaviano Fregoso*, who came Express with it from *Fossombrone*. The dismal Account threw the whole Court into the greatest Terror and Confusion, the Cardinals immediately flocking to the Pope, and conjuring him by the most earnest Intreaties to accept of Peace, which they did not doubt he might obtain on Terms honourable enough from the King of *France*; beseeching him to dispose himself at last for delivering the Apostolic See, and his own Person, from so great a Danger; representing to him that he had sufficiently fatigued himself for the Exaltation of the Church, and for the Liberty of *Italy*, and had acquired great Glory by his holy Intentions: That he should succeed
in

Pope exhorted to Peace.

in so pious an Enterprife was discovered, by many Signs and Tokens, to be contrary to the Will of God, to act in Opposition to which would be no other than to bring the Church to utter Ruin: That it belonged more to God than to him to take the Care of his Spouse, and therefore he ought to resign himself to the divine Will, and, by embracing Peace according to the Precepts of the Gospel, at once deliver his old Age, the State of the Church, and his whole Court, which longed and cried out for nothing but Peace, from all their Troubles: And it was supposed, they said, that the Conquerors had already put themselves in Motion for directly marching to *Rome*, and that they would be joined by his Nephew, and also by *Roberto Orsino*, *Pompeo Colonna*, *Antimo Savello*, *Pietro Margano*, and *Renzo Mancino*, who were known to have received Money from the King of *France*, and had been preparing to raise Disturbances, and distress *Rome* even before the Battle of *Ravenna*; against which great and imminent Dangers there could be no other Remedy than Peace.

A. D.

1512.

Reasons
dissuading
the Pope
from a
Peace.

ON the other hand the Ambassadors of the King of *Aragon* and of the *Venetian* Senate made very strong Remonstrances to his Holiness against a Peace, endeavouring to persuade him that Affairs were not so distressed, nor reduced to such Extremities as was imagined: That the Army was not so much dissipated, but that it might, in a very short time, and with no great Expence, be re-established: That they knew the Viceroy had saved himself with the greater Part of the Cavalry, and that the *Spanish* Infantry had marched off the Field of Battle in close and proper Order; and if they were safe, as it was probable, all the other Loss was but of small Moment: That there was no Reason to be apprehensive that the *French* would come to *Rome* so soon but that he might have Time to provide for his Defence, because the Death of their General must of Necessity be attended with many Disorders and Inconveniencies: That they were moreover held in Suspense by their Jealousies of the *Swiss*, who, it was no longer doubted, would declare for the League,

and

and make a Descent into *Lombardy*: That Peace was not to be expected from the King of *France* but on very unjust and dishonourable Terms, and his Holiness would be obliged to receive Laws from the Pride of *Bernardino Carvagial*, and from the Insolence of *Federigo da San Severino*. Any thing therefore would be better for him, than, under the Name of Peace, to submit, with so much Indignity and Disgrace, to a most oppressive and most insecure Slavery; for these Schismatics would never desist from making Attempts on his Dignity and on his Life. It would be much the lesser Evil for him, if it could not be avoided, to abandon *Rome*, and remove with all his Court to the Kingdom of *Naples* or to *Venice*, where he might live in the same Honour and Security, and with the same Grandeur; for the Loss of *Rome* was not attended with the Loss of the Pontificate, which is always annexed to the Person of the Pontiff, in whatever Place he resides. His Holiness therefore had no more to do than to hold fast his usual Constancy and Magnanimity, for God, the Searcher of human Hearts,

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A. D. would not fail to assist his honest and pious

1512:

Intentions, nor forsake the Bark of *Peter*, which, though often tossed by the Waves, can never sink ; and the Christian Princes, excited by their Zeal for Religion, and their Dread of the exorbitant Greatness of the King of *France*, would, with all their Forces, and in their own proper Persons, undertake his Defence.

THE Pope heard these Reasons offered on both Sides with vast Doubt and Perplexity, so that it was easy to discover in him the Struggles between his Dangers and Fears on one Side, and his Enmity, Indignation, and an Obstinacy unused to bend or be overcome, on the other ; and it was understood also, by his Answers to the Ambassadors, that he would not be so uneasy at his leaving *Rome*, as because there was no Place to which he could retire without putting himself in the Power of others. Wherefore he answered the Cardinals that he chose Peace, and consented that they should solicit the *Florentines* to interpose their Mediation with the King of *France* for that Purpose ; but his
Answer

Answer was not so determinate, and in such expressive Terms, as to give full Assurance of his Intentions. He had sent for *Biascia*, a *Genoese*, Commander of his Gallies, from *Civita Vecchia*, which made it conjectured that he designed to depart from *Rome*; but, soon after he dismissed him, and consulted about raising the *Roman* Barons that had not taken Part with the others, and willingly hearkened to the Sollicitations of the two Ambassadors, though he would often answer them in angry and affronting Words.

A. D.
1512.

Pope
averse to
Peace.

AT this Juncture arrived *Giulio de' Medici*, a Knight of *Rhodes*, and afterwards Pope, whom the Cardinal *de' Medici*, with Leave from the Cardinal of *San Severino*, had sent from the Army, on pretence of recommending himself to the Pope's Favour under his great Misfortune, but in reality to make a Report of the State of Affairs*. By his Account his Holiness was fully informed how greatly the *French*

E e 3 were

* *Giulio de' Medici*, afterwards Pope *Clement VII.* had fled from the Battle to *Cesena*, and afterwards obtained a Pass for paying a Visit to the Cardinal his Cousin German, by whom he was dispatched to the Pope. *Giovio.*

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1512.

His Encourage-
ments for
continuing the
War.

were weakened, of how many Commanders they were deprived, what Numbers of valiant Soldiers they had lost, how many were for a long time rendered unserviceable by their Wounds, what vast Destruction there was of Horses, that Part of the Army was dispersed into various Places by the Pillage of *Ravenna*, and that the Generals were in Suspense, and uncertain of the King's Will, and had no good Understanding between themselves, because *Palisse* refused to endure the Insolence of *San Severino*, who would assume the Office of General as well as of Legate; that it was privately whispered that the *Swiss* were on their March, and that there was no Sign that the Army would soon put itself in Motion. The Pope was mightily comforted at these Particulars, and had the Messenger introduced into a Consistory, where he made him give the same Relation before the Cardinals; and it was added that the Duke of *Urbino*, from some Motive or other, had changed his Resolution, and sent to offer his Uncle Two Hundred Men at Arms, and Four Thousand Foot. The Cardinals however continued

continued to stimulate his Holiness to Peace, from which though he did not appear to be averse in Words, yet he was resolved not to accept it but as the last and desperate Remedy; and therefore, though he should see no Cure at hand for the present Disorder, he was determined rather to fly out of *Rome*, provided he was not quite deprived of all Hopes of Assistance from the Arms of the Princes in Support of his Cause, and particularly from the Nation of the *Swiss*, who, shewing an Inclination to comply with his Desires, had some time before forbidden the Ambassadors of the King of *France* to be present at the Place where the Deputies of all the Cantons were assembled, in order to come to a Resolution on the Demands of the Pontiff.

IN this Situation of Affairs there appeared some transient Glimpses of a Peace; for the King of *France*, before the Battle was fought, under a deep Concern of so many Dangers threatening him from all Quarters, and provoked at the Unsteadiness of *Cæsar*, and the hard Conditions he had

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proposed to him, had at last resolved rather to comply in many Points with the Pope's Will ; and for that End had given secret Orders to *Fabritio Carretta*, Brother to the Cardinal of *Finale*, and to the Cardinals of *Nantes* and *Strigonia*, who had never wholly desisted from treating about an Agreement, to propose, that *Bologna* should be restored to the Pontiff, that *Alfonso d'Esle* should also surrender to him *Lugo*, with all the other Towns that he possessed in *Romagna*, and should be obliged to pay the antient Tribute, and to make no more Salt in his Territories ; and that the Council should be abolished. He made no other Demands of the Pope in return but Peace only with him, that *Alfonso d'Esle* should be absolved from his Censures, and restored to the Enjoyment of his antient Rights and Privileges, that the *Bentivogli*, who were to remain in Exile, should reserve the Possession of their own proper Estates, and that the Cardinals and Prelates who had adhered to the Council should be restored to their Dignities. Though the two Cardinals were apprehensive that the King, since his Vic-

tory,

Proposals
of the
King of
France to
the Pope.

tory, would not give his Consent to these Conditions, yet they durst not propose them in any other Form; and the Pontiff finding them so honourable for himself, and unwilling to discover the secret Resolution which he had taken in his Mind, judged that he ought not to refuse them; and that perhaps also he could not do himself more Service than by endeavouring with these Negotiations to suspend the Operations of the King's Army, that he might have the more Time to wait the Progress of those Powers in whom he reposed his last Hopes. Wherefore, all the Cardinals importuning him to do what he had determined, he subscribed these Articles on the ninth Day after the Battle, and passed his Word to the Cardinals that he would accept them, provided they were confirmed by the King; he commissioned also by Letters the Cardinal of *Finale*, who resided in *France*, but absented himself from Court because he would not offend his Holiness, and the Bishop of *Tivoli*, his Legate in *Avignon*, to wait on his Majesty with the Articles in order to treat about

A. D. about the Affair, but he sent them no Orders nor Powers to bring it to a Conclusion*.

Affairs of
the Pope
take a
prosper-
ous Turn.

THUS far proceeded the Course of the Pope's Misfortunes, and at this Period we may date the Height of his Calamities and Dangers; but from this Time his Hopes and Prospects continually brightened and increased, and the Wheel of Fortune turned without any Check towards his Aggrandizement. The Beginning of so remarkable a Change in the Face of Affairs was occasioned by the sudden Departure of *Palisse* from *Romagna*. This Commander being recalled by the General of *Normandy*, on account of the spreading Reports of the Coming of the *Swiss*, removed with the Army towards the Dutchy of *Milan*, leaving in *Romagna* Three Hundred Lances, Three Hundred light Horse, with Eight Pieces of heavy Cannon, under the

* *Julius*, soon after he had sent the Articles of Peace drawn up in Form, and subscribed with his own Hand, to the King, sent for the *Spanish* and *Venetian* Ambassadors, and desired them to be under no Concern at what he had done, for he was not in the least altered in his Resolution against the *French*, but had made this Step to lull the King asleep. *Rembo.*

the Command of the Legate of the Council. And the Fears from the *Swiss* were ^{A. D. 1512.} the more alarming, because the same General, being more sollicitous to please than to profit the King, had, contrary to the present Exigencies of Affairs, immediately after the Victory, imprudently disbanded all the *Italian* and Part of the *French* Infantry. The Departure of *Palisse* delivered the Pope from his Fears, confirmed him in his Obstinacy, and rendered it easy for him to settle Affairs at *Rome* to his own Liking. For this End he had enlisted some *Roman* Barons with Three Hundred Men at Arms, and treated of making *Prospero Colonna* Captain General. For the Courage of those who had attempted Innovations failing them, *Pompeo Colonna*, who was making Preparations at *Monte Fortino*, consented, at the Interposition of *Prospero*, to deposit that Fortrefs, for the Security of the Pontiff, in the Hands of *Marc' Antonio Colonna*, basely keeping the Money he had received of the King of *France*. Hence also *Ruberto Orsino*, who was come from *Pitigliano* to the Territories of the *Colonnas*, with a Design to raise War, soon after came

A. D.

1512.

came to an Agreement by the Mediation of *Giulio Orfino*, retaining also the King's Money, and receiving of the Pontiff, in reward of his Perfidy, the Archbishopric of *Reggio* in *Calabria*. Only *Pietro Margano* was ashamed to keep the Money which he had received, but fortunately as well as honourably returned it; for not very long after, being taken prisoner in War by the Successor of the Present King, he would otherwise have paid the Penalty due to his Treachery.

Lateran
Council
opened.

The Pope now greatly confirmed in his Resolutions by these Events, and delivered from present Fears of domestic as well as foreign Enemies, on the third Day of *May* with very great Solemnity opened the Council in the Church of *San Giovanni Laterano*, being assured of the Attendance not only of the greater Part of *Italy*, but of *Spain*, *England*, and *Hungary*. At this Opening he assisted in Person, clothed in his pontifical Robes, and accompanied by the College of Cardinals, with a great Number of Bishops. After celebrating, according to antient Custom, the Mass of the

the

the Holy Ghost, besides many other *A. D.*
 Prayers, and exhorting the Fathers, by a *1512.*
 public Oration, to apply themselves heartily
 to the Promotion of the common Good,
 and of the Dignity of the Christian Re-
 ligion, it was declared, in order to lay a
 Foundation for future Proceedings, that
 the Council there assembled was a true,
 lawful and holy Council, in which un-
 doubtedly resided all the Power and Au-
 thority of the universal Church: Ceremo-
 nies certainly very decent and very holy,
 and of Force sufficient to penetrate into
 the inmost Recesses of the Hearts of Men,
 if they could but persuade themselves that
 the Authors of them had no other Ends
 to prosecute than what appeared from the
 obvious Meaning of the Words.

THESE were the Proceedings of the
 Pope after the Battle of *Ravenna*. But
 the King of *France*, though his Joy for
 the Victory was somewhat allayed by the
 Death of *Foix*, whom he dearly loved,
 immediately ordered the Legate and *Pa-*
lissé to lead the Army with all possible Speed
 to *Rome*: However, after his first Ardor

was

A. D. was cooled, he began to return to his eager

1512

King of
France
desirous of
Peace.

Desires of Peace, foreseeing the great Tempest which from so many Quarters at once threatened to overwhelm his States.

For though *Cæsar* continued his Promises of standing firm to his Alliance, protesting that the Truce made with the *Venetians* in his Name was without his Consent, and that he would never ratify it, yet the King, besides his Apprehensions from that Prince's Inconstancy, and his not being certain of the Veracity of his Words, was but too sensible that he was linked with a Companion burdensome in War, and hurtful in Peace, since he supposed that by his intermeddling in the Affair he should be constrained to consent to the more dishonourable Conditions. Besides, he no longer doubted that the *Swiss* would enter into an Alliance with his Enemies, and from the King of *England* he expected nothing but War, for that King had sent an Herald to signify to him that it was his Intention that all the Conventions and Confederacies which had subsisted between them should be ended, since all of them contained this Exception, namely, “pro-
vided

vided the King of *France* made no War A. D.
1512.
against the Church, nor against the Ca-
tholic King the King of *England's* Father-
in-law. *Lewis* therefore was highly
pleased that the *Florentines* had been sol-
licitated to interpose their Mediation for a
Peace, and immediately dispatched to *Flo-*
rence the President of *Grenoble*, with very
full Instructions, that the Treaty might be
negotiated in a Place more at hand, and
that he might go, if it were expedient,
from thence to *Rome*. And when he after-
wards came to know the free and ready
Inclination, as it then seemed, of the Pope
by his subscribing the Articles, he was
wholly intent on a Peace. But being
apprehensive that the Pontiff, on the De-
parture of the Army, would relapse into
his usual Stubbornness, he ordered *Palisse*,
who was now arrived at *Parma*, imme-
diately to return with Part of the Troops
into *Romagna*, and to spread a Report that
he had Orders to proceed further. He
thought it very hard that he should be
obliged to part with *Bologna*, not so much
on account of the Instances made to him
in the Name of *Cæsar* to the contrary, as
because

A. D.

1512.

because he doubted that, even after the Peace was made, the Pope would entertain the same Prejudice against him. For this Reason it would be detrimental to deprive himself of *Bologna*, which ought to be defended as an Outwork or Bulwark of the Dutchy of *Milan*, Besides, as the Cardinal of *Finale*, and the Bishop of *Tivoli* were arrived at his Court without a Commission to conclude any thing, and the Pope was at that Time surrounded with so many Difficulties and Dangers, it seemed a plain Sign that he had consented out of Dissimulation. - At last, however, he resolved to accept the abovementioned Articles, with certain Limitations, but not such as would affect the main Substance. With this Answer the Secretary of the Bishop of *Tivoli* was dispatched to *Rome*, to solicit the Pontiff, in the Name of the King, either to send his Orders to the aforesaid Bishop and the Cardinal to conclude the Agreement, or to send to *Florence* for the President of *Grenoble*, who was furnished with full Powers for the same Purpose.

BUT

BUT the Hopes of the Pontiff every Day increased. and consequently his Inclinations, if he ever had any, to Peace diminished. A Commission was arrived from the King of *England*, by which the Cardinal of *York* was empowered to sign the League, having been dispatched in *November* last, but he was a long time retarded in his Coming by the great Compass he was obliged to take, having paid a Visit in *Spain* by the Way. And *Cæsar*, after long Hesitation, had at last ratified the Truce with the *Venetians*, the principal Inducement to which was the Hopes which the Catholic King and the King of *England* had given him with respect to his Pretensions on the Dutchy of *Milan* and *Burgundy*. The Pope was much encouraged in his Mind by the vast Hopes infused into him by the King of *Aragon*, who received the first Account of the Defeat by Letters from the King of *France* to the Queen, in which he signified that *Gaston de Foix* her Brother was dead in the Height of his Glory after a Victory obtained over the Enemies, and afterwards

A. D.

1512.

more particularly by Advices from his own Officers, which arrived later on account of the Difficulty of the Seas. And it appearing to him that the Kingdom of *Naples* was in great Danger, he had resolved to send into *Italy* the Great Captain with a new Supply of Troops, to which Remedy he had recourse for want of other Means ; for though he treated that Officer with outward Marks of Respect, yet he really disliked him, from the Memory of his former Popularity in *Naples*, and was jealous of his Greatness and Authority. The Pope being thus confirmed by a Concurrence of so many favourable Events, when the Secretary of the Bishop of *Tivoli* arrived with the Articles of the Treaty, and gave his Holiness Reasons to think that even the Limitations added by the King, to moderate the Disgrace of abandoning the Protection of *Bologna*, might be referred to his Will, entirely resolved not to accept them. But, out of Regard to his Signet and to his Word passed to the College, pretending the contrary, as was sometimes his Practice, in which he belyed the Fame of his Veracity, he caused the Articles to be

read in a Consistory, and asked the Advice of the Cardinals. On this the *Spanish* ^{A. D. 1512.} Cardinal *Arborense* and the Cardinal of *York*, who had before secretly concerted with him what they should say, rose up, and, in the Name of the Kings their respective Masters, gravely exhorted his Holiness to persevere in his Constancy, and not to abandon the Cause of the Church, which with so much Dignity he had undertaken to defend: Representing to him that the Necessities of the Times, which had induced him to hearken to these Proposals, were now ceased; and that it manifestly appeared that God, who for some Ends, unknown to us, had permitted his Bark to be vehemently tossed and tumbled in the Sea, would not suffer it to perish; and that it was not consistent with Decency nor Justice for him to make a separate Peace, and to treat of an Affair of common Concern without the Participation of the rest of the Confederates. Lastly they admonished him seriously to consider of what dangerous Consequence it must prove to the Apostolic See and to himself, to alienate himself from true and faithful

A. D. Friends for the Sake of adhering to reconciled Enemies. The Pontiff seeming to be moved by these Advices openly refused the Agreement; and a few Days after, proceeding to violent Measures, pronounced in the Consistory a Monitory against the King of *France*, enjoining him, under the Penalties appointed by the sacred Canons, to release the Cardinal *de' Medici*. But he consented that the Publication of it should be superseded at the Intreaties of the College of Cardinals, who advised him to defer as long as possible the Use of the sharpest Remedies, and proposed to address his Majesty by Letters, written in the Name of the whole Body, for the same Purpose, in which they would exhort and beseech him that, as it was becoming a Most Christian Prince, he would set that Prelate at liberty. The Cardinal *de' Medici* had been conducted to *Milan*, where he was under honourable Custody; and though he was in the Power of the Enemy, yet the Authority of the Apostolic See, and the Awe of Religion were conspicuous in his Person, and at the same time

time a Contempt of the *Pisan* Council*. *A. D.*
 And indeed the Cause of that Assembly *1512.*
 was abandoned, not only by others, but even by those who had attended and favoured it by their Arms, none paying it any Devotion, or placing any Faith in it. For the Pontiff having granted the Cardinal a Power to absolve from Censures those Soldiers who would promise to bear Arms no more against the Church, and to allow to all the Dead, for whom it should be demanded, Ecclesiastical Burial, incredible was the Concourse, and surprising the Devotion of the Demanders and Promisers†. The King's Ministers winked at these Proceedings, but the Cardinals could not bear, without the highest Indignation, that before their Eyes, and in a Place where was their own Residence and the Seat of the Council, the Subjects and Soldiers of the King should, contrary to his

Schisma-
 tic Council
 despised.

F f 3 Honour

* The Cardinal was lodged in the Palace of Cardinal *San Severino*; and had such Honours paid him by the noble Families of the *Visconti*, *Pallavicini*, and *Trivulzi*, that if he had been a Conqueror, and seated in the highest Degree of Fortune, he could scarce have been treated with more Respect. *Giovio.*

† The Clerks were hardly sufficient to supply the Patents of Absolution. *Giovio.*

A. D.

1512.

Honour and Service, and in his own Territories, totally disregard the Authority of the Council, and adhere to the *Roman Church*, acknowledging, with the profoundest Reverence, the Cardinal Prisoner as an Apostolical Legate.

ON *Cæsar's* Ratification of the Truce with the *Venetians*, though his Agents in *Verona* denied it, the King of *France* recalled Part of the Troops which he had in Garrison in that City, since they were no longer necessary there, and because the War which threatened him from *England* had obliged him to recall from beyond the Mountains Two Hundred Gens d'Arms, the Archers of his Guard, and Two Hundred other Lances: But being sensible, from his increasing Apprehensions of the *Swiss*, that there was Occasion for a stronger Force in the Duchy of *Milan*, he had pressed the *Florentines* to send into *Lombardy* the Three Hundred Men at Arms whom, by the Articles of the Confederacy, they were bound to furnish for the Defence of his States. This Treaty was to expire in two Months,

but

but he prevailed on them, while the Reputation of his Victory was yet fresh upon their Minds, to enter into a new Confederacy for five Years, by which he obliged himself to defend their State with Six Hundred Lances, and the *Florentines* on the other Side engaged to furnish Four Hundred Men at Arms for the Defence of all that the King possessed in *Italy*; tho' to avoid all Occasions of involving themselves in a War with the Pope, they excepted from the general Obligation the Town of *Cotignuola*, as a Place to which the Church might possibly pretend some Right.

BUT now the Affairs of the King manifestly appeared to be in a very dangerous State, for the *Swiss* had at last resolved to grant a Body of Six Thousand Foot for the Service of the Pope, who had demanded them on pretence of employing their Arms against *Ferrara*. All that the Partisans of *France* could effect was only to protract this Resolution from Time to Time till this Present, on which account they were highly exclaimed against in the Diets by

A. D. the enraged Multitude, who were strange-
1512. ly incensed with Hatred against the Name
Swiss in- of the King of *France*. It was not enough,
cented they said, for that King ungratefully to re-
against fuse a small Augmentation to the Pay of
the King those by whose Valour and Blood he had
of France. obtained so much Dominion and Reputa-
tion, but he must also in most abusive
Terms upbraid them with their Ignobility ;
as if at the Beginning all Men had not one
Original, and one and the same Birth ;
and as if there were at present any Person
great or noble whose Progenitors had not,
at some Time or other, been poor, mean,
and ignoble. He had begun, they said,
to hire *Lanskenet* Foot, to shew that he
no longer wanted their Service in the
Wars, persuading himself that since they
were deprived of his Pay, they had no-
thing to do but to loiter and starve upon
their Mountains : That they ought there-
fore to demonstrate to all the World the
Vanity of his Imaginations, and the False-
hood of his Persuasions, and that his In-
gratitude was hurtful to none but himself :
That warlike Men were not to be restrained
by any Difficulties from giving Testimo-
nies

nies of their Valour; and that Gold and Silver were always at the Command of those who were provided with Steel and Arms; and that it was necessary to convince the World for once how imprudently he took his Measures, when he preferred the *German* Foot to those of the *Helvetians*. In short, so transported were the *Swiss* with Zeal for the Pope's Cause, that they regarded it as their own, and left their Houses on the Receipt only of a single *Rhenish* Florin for each; whereas they never stirred for the *French* Service without Promises first made of great Pay to Soldiers, and Abundance of Presents made to the Officers. Their Rendezvous was at *Coira*, the principal Town of the *Grisons*, who being Confederates of the King of *France*, from whom they generally received Pensions, had sent to excuse themselves to his Majesty, representing that, by their antient Contracts with the principal Cantons of the *Swiss*, they could not refuse to send a certain Number of their Troops to accompany them into the Field.

A. D.

1512.

THIS Movement mightily disturbed the Minds of the *French*, whose Forces were much diminished ; for after the General of *Normandy* had broke the *Italians*, they had not above Ten Thousand Foot, and the Men at Arms which the King had recalled having passed the Mountains, there remained in *Italy* no more than Thirteen Hundred Lances, of which Three Hundred were in *Parma*. And yet the General of *Normandy*, acting more the Part of a Treasurer than a Warrior, would not consent to new Levies of Foot without the King's Commission. But the Troops under *Palisse*, which had arrived at *Finale* in their Way to *Romagna*, were returned to *Milan* ; and Orders were sent to Cardinal *San Severino* to return thither with the Forces that were in *Romagna*. On the Departure of these Troops *Rimini* and *Cesena* with their Castles, and also *Ravenna* returned without any Difficulty under Obedience to the Pope ; and the *French* unwilling to leave the Dutchy of *Milan* unprovided, the City of *Bologna*, for the Support of which they had been at so much

much Expence and Trouble, was left abandoned in the Midst of Dangers.

A. D.

1512.

THE *Swiss*, as soon as they were assembled at *Coira*, marched from thence to *Trent*, *Cæsar* having granted them Passage through his Dominions, though, willing to conceal as much as possible what he had before resolved from the King of *France*, he protested that he could not forbid them to pass through his Country on account of his Confederacy with them. From *Trent* the *Swiss* descended into the *Veronese*, where they were expected by the *Venetians*, who concurred with the Pope in paying them; and though there was not Money enough for that Purpose, because they were above Six Thousand more than the Number demanded*, yet so ardent was the Resentment of the Multitude against the King of *France*, that, contrary to their Custom, they patiently put up with all Inconveniencies.

Descent
of the
Swiss in-
to *Lom-
bardy*.

ON.

* They were in all Twenty Thousand, towards the Payment of whom the *Venetians* contributed an Overplus of Fifteen Thousand Ducats. *Mocen. Buonac.* But *Bembo* makes them no more than Eighteen Thousand.

A. D.

1512.

ON the other Side *Palisse* with the Army had advanced first to *Pontoglio* to prevent the Passage of the *Swiss*, imagining that their Design was to make a Descent into *Italy* on that Quarter. But finding afterwards that their Motions were directed another Way, he had posted himself at *Castiglione dello Striviere*, a Town Six Miles from *Peschiera*, uncertain whether the Enemy intended to proceed, as it was reported, towards *Ferrara*, or attack the Dutchy of *Milan*; and this Uncertainty perhaps hastened the subsequent Train of Misfortunes. For it was not doubted but the *Swiss* would have pursued their March towards the *Ferrarese*, had not the Stradiotti of the *Venetians*, unfortunately for the *French*, intercepted a Letter of *Palisse* to the General of *Normandy*, who remained at *Milan*, in which, signifying to him the State of Affairs, he demonstrated that it would be very difficult to resist the Enemies if they should turn their Arms against the *Milaneſe*. This Letter being read in a Council of War, at which assisted the Cardinal of *Sion*, who came from *Venice*,
and

THE WARS IN ITALY. 461

and the General Officers, the Design was altered, and it was resolved with Reason, which seldom deceives, to betake themselves to that Enterprize which they understood would most incommode the Enemy.

In pursuance of this Resolution they marched from *Verona* to *Villafranca*, where they joined the *Venetian* Army, commanded by *Gian Pagolo Baglione*, and consisting of Four Hundred Men at Arms, Eight Hundred light Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, with a numerous Artillery both of battering and Field Pieces. On this *Palisse* abandoned *Valeggio* as defenceless, and retired to *Gambara*, with a Design to post himself at *Ponte Vico*, having in his Army but Six or Seven Thousand Foot, the rest being distributed in *Brescia*, *Peschiera*, and *Lignago*, and no more than a Thousand Lances; for though he had been inclined to recall the Three Hundred that were in *Parma*, yet the manifest Danger that threatened *Bologna*, with the most pressing Instances of the *Bentivogli*, obliged him to order those Troops to enter that City, which was left almost without a Garrison.

A. D.
1512.

Swiss
turn their
Arms
against the
Dutchy
of Milan:

THE

A. D.

1512.

THE *French* now, though late, discovered their Danger, and the Vanity of those Hopes with which they had been amused, and heartily cursing the Avarice and pernicious Counsels of the General of *Normandy*, they compelled him to consent that *Federigo da Bozzolo* and some other *Italian* Officers should raise, with all possible Speed, Six Thousand Foot; a Remedy which could not be put in Practice under ten Days at least. The *French* Army was weakened not only on account of the small Number of Troops, but by the Disagreement between the Generals; for the rest in a manner disdained to be under the Command of *Palisse*, and the Men at Arms, harrassed and tired out with a long Course of Labours and Fatigues, wished that the Dutchy of *Milan* were lost, that they might return into *France*, rather than defend it with so much Danger and Vexation.

Weakness
of the
French.

PALISSE having quitted *Valeggio*, the *Venetians* and *Swiss* took Possession of it, and thence passing the *Mincio*, encamped
in

in the *Mantouan*, where the Marquis, excusing himself on account of his Inability to resist, gave free Passage to both Parties. In this difficult Juncture it was the Resolution of the *French* Commanders wholly to abandon the Field, and attend to the Preservation of the most important Towns, in Hopes, and not without Reason, that by temporising so great a Body of *Swiss* would not keep long together, because the Pope, who was as backward in Payments as forward in Wars, distrusting his Sufficiency for subsisting so great a Number, was very slow in his Disbursements. Pursuant to this Resolution they placed in *Brescia* Two Thousand Foot, an Hundred and Fifty Lances, and an Hundred Men at Arms of the *Florentines*; in *Crema* Fifty Lances and a Thousand Foot; in *Bergamo* a Thousand Foot and an Hundred Men at Arms of the *Florentines*. The rest of the Army, which consisted of Seven Hundred Lances, Two Thousand *French* Foot, and Four Thousand *Germans*, retired to *Ponte Vico*, a strong Situation, and convenient for covering *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, where they were

A. D. 1512. were in Hopes of easily maintaining themselves. But the next Day, to their Surprise, came Letters from *Cæsar* with Orders for the *German* Foot immediately to quit the *French* Service; and these Troops, being almost all of them of the County of *Tirol*, they durst not oppose the Will of their Sovereign, but departed the same Day. By their Departure *Palisse* and the other Commanders lost all Hopes of any longer defending the Dutchy of *Milan*, and immediately retired in Confusion from *Ponte Vico* to *Pizzichitone*. By this Step the *Cremonese*, finding themselves wholly abandoned, surrendered to the Confederate Army, which was approaching, and obliged themselves to pay the *Swiss* Forty Thousand Ducats. But Disputes arising concerning the Property of the City, the *Venetians* striving to have it restored to their Republic, it was at last received in the Name of the League, and of *Massimiliano* the Son of *Lodovico Sforza*, for whom the Pontiff and the *Swiss* pretended that the Dutchy of *Milan* was to be conquered; the Castle, however, remained in the Hands of the *French*. The same time also the

Cremona
and *Bergamo* re-
volt from
the *French*

the City of *Bergamo* revolted from the *French* to the Confederates, for *Palisse* ^{A. D. 1512.} having recalled the Garrison to reinforce his Army, as soon as they were gone some Exiles entered the Place, and stirred up the Citizens to rebel.

FROM *Pizzichitone* *Palisse* passed the *Adda*, where he was joined by the Three Hundred Lances appointed for the Defence of *Bologna*, and recalled on the Increase of the Danger. Here he was in hopes of making a Stand, and disputing the Passage of the River, if he were timely reinforced with the new Levies of Foot which it had been resolved to raise. But, alas! this Resource proved as deficient as the rest, for Money was wanting to list the Soldiers, the General of *Normandy* having no ready Cash, nor Means for raising Supplies, as usual, by mortgaging the Royal Revenue, for in so dangerous a Juncture the public Credit was lost. Wherefore the General, after four Days, as soon as the Enemy approached the River three Miles below *Pizzichitone*, quitted his Post, and retired to *Sant. Angelo*,

A. D. in order to retreat the next Day from
 1512. thence to *Pavia*.

IN this desperate Circumstance all Hopes of defending the Dutchy of *Milan* being vanished, and the whole Country rising in Rebellicn and Tumults, *Gianjacopo da Trivulzi*, the General of *Normandy*, *Antonmaria Palavicino*, *Galeazzo Visconti*, and many other Noblemen, with all the King's Officers and Ministers, consulted their own Safety, and departed from *Milan* for *Piedmont*. The Cardinals, who stood as much in Fear of the People as of the Enemy, had fled from the City some Days before, though, shewing more Fierceness in their Decrees than in the rest of their Actions, they had much about the same time suspended the Pope from all spiritual and temporal Administration of the Church, as a Preamble to his Deprivation.

THESE Tumults were conducive to the Preservation of the Cardinal *de' Medici*, who was reserved by Heaven for the highest Felicity. For having set out, under a Guard,

Guard, for *France*, as he was taking Boat A. D. 1512.
 in the Morning at the Passage of the *Po* Cardinal de' Medici rescued.
 that lies over against *Bassignana*, by the
 Antients called *Augusta Baciendorum*, he
 was rescued by *Rinaldo Zallo* at the Head
 of some of his Domestics and certain Pea-
 sants of a Village called *Pieve del Cairo*,
 where the Cardinal had lodged that Night,
 who coming unawares upon the Guard of
French Soldiers, and giving a Shout, ex-
 cited so great a Terror and Confusion
 among them that they thought of nothing
 but how to secure themselves by Flight.

BUT *Palisse* having entered *Pavia* was
 resolved to stay in the Place and defend
 himself, for which End he requested *Tri-
 vulzio* and the General of *Normandy* to re-
 pair thither. *Trivulzio* being sent by Di-
 rections from the General and other princi-
 pal Persons, demonstrated to him the Va-
 nity of his Resolution, that it was impos-
 sible to put a Stop to so great a Ruin, the
 Army being without Infantry, and the
 Shortness of Time not admitting of new
 Levies: That no Soldiers could be pro-
 cured but from Places far distant, and with

A. D. the greatest Difficulty; and that, even if
 1512. all other Impediments were removed,
 Desperate there was no Money to pay the Troops,
 State of the *French* the public Credit being entirely sunk, their
 Affairs. Friends full of Fears, and the People of
 Hatred, from the immoderate Licentious-
 ness of the Soldiery, under which they had
 so long suffered. *Trivulzio* having thus
 spoken his Sentiments, left *Palisse*, and
 went to procure a commodious Passage for
 the Troops over the *Po*, by laying a Bridge
 over that River at a good Distance from
Valenza towards *Asli*, where the Channel
 is narrowest.

BUT the Confederate Army, to which
 the City of *Lodi*, with its Castle, had surren-
 dered when the *French* retired to the *Adda*,
 advanced from *Sant. Angelo*, and came be-
 fore *Pavia*, where the *Venetians* imme-
 diately began to batter the Castle, and
 Part of the *Swiss* passed the River that runs
 close by the City in Boats. The *French*
 fearing that they would intercept their Pas-
 sage at the Stone Bridge that lies over
 the River *Tesino*, which was the only
 Way they had to save themselves, drew
 towards

French
 abandon
Pavia
 with Loss.

towards that Bridge, in order to retire out A. D.
of the Place. But before they could get 1512.
off the Rearguard, behind which were
posted last of all, to guard the Horses, some
German Foot, who had not marched out
with their Countrymen, the *Swiss* broke
out upon them from the Quarters about
the *Porta Nuova*, and from the Castle,
which was abandoned, and skirmished
with them through the whole Length of
the Town and of the Bridge, the *Germans*
above all making a stout Resistance. But
in passing the Bridge of *Gravallone*, which
was of Wood, the Planks breaking by the
Weight of the Horses, the *French* and
Germans who had not yet passed were
all either killed or taken. *Pavia* was
obliged to pay a large Sum of Money,
Milan had before compounded for a much
larger Sum, and all the other Cities, except
Brescia and *Crema*, strove which should be
most forward to pay their Contributions.
The Name of the Empire was cried up
through all the Country, and the State
was received and governed in the Name
of the *Holy League*, as they agreed to call
it. The Administration of the public Af-
fairs

A. D.

1512.

fairs was under the Direction of the Cardinal of *Sion*, whom the Pope had appointed his Legate ; but all the Money that was raised by the Contributions or Taxes was paid away to the *Swiss*, who had all the Benefit, and all the Gains, But when the Fame of their Success had reached *Switzerland*, the whole Nation was elated to such a Degree that at the Breaking up of the Diet, called at *Zurich* on Matters relating to this Expedition; they came pouring into *Lombardy* in great Numbers to participate of the Success of their Countrymen.

IN this great Revolution of the public Affairs the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* voluntarily submitted to the Pope, who pretended a Right to them as Members of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*. The *Swiss* seized on *Lucarna*, and the *Grisons* on the *Valtolina* and *Chiavenna*, which Places lay very commodious for their Affairs : And *Janus Fregoso*, a General Officer in the *Venetian* Service, proceeding to *Genoa* with some Horse and Foot which he had obtained

tained of the Senate, procured that City to revolt, and expel the *French* Governor, and himself to be created Doge, which Dignity his Father had enjoyed before him. In the same Career of Fortune all the Towns and Fortresses of *Romagna* returned under the Dominion of the Pope; and the Duke of *Urbino*, with the Ecclesiastic Forces, approaching *Bologna*, the *Bentivogli* in Despair abandoned that City, and were prosecuted with the utmost Severity by the Pope, who interdicted all Places that should for the future receive or entertain any of that Family. Nor did he shew less Resentment against the City of *Bologna*, being highly incensed against the Inhabitants, who, forgetting the many Benefits and Favours he had bestowed upon them, had ungratefully revolted from his Dominion, had insulted his Statue with many vile Indignities, and cast many scornful and abusive Reflections on his Character. For these Reasons he created no new Magistrates of their own Body, nor any more admitted them into the least Share in the Government; but took care to extort, by means

A. D.

1512.

A. D. means of severe Ministers, great Sums of
 1512. Money from many of the Citizens as Ad-
 herents to the *Bentivogli*. On these
 Grounds it was reported, whether true or
 false, that, if his Projects had not been in-
 terrupted by Death, he had formed a De-
 sign to destroy the City, and remove the In-
 habitants to *Cento*.

The End of the Tenth Book and Fifth Volume.

ERRATA.

Page 8 for *Cordi* *r.* *Corti*. 54 confideing *r.* confiding; as elsewhere,
 for *fi* *r.* *fi*. 60 Hope, *r.* Hopes. 65 fatety *r.* safety. 69 struck
r. struck. 79 3000 *Spanish* *r.* 300. 125 declared to *d.* to. 138
 was willing *r.* he was. 152 Besiegers *r.* Besieged. 211 Reputation
r. or Reputation. 231 after Cardinals *r.* *. 329 States *r.* Districts.
 394 16000 Lances *r.* 1600, &c.





